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AND THE

# FRENCH PRE-RENAISSANCE

BY

ALMA DE L. LE DUC

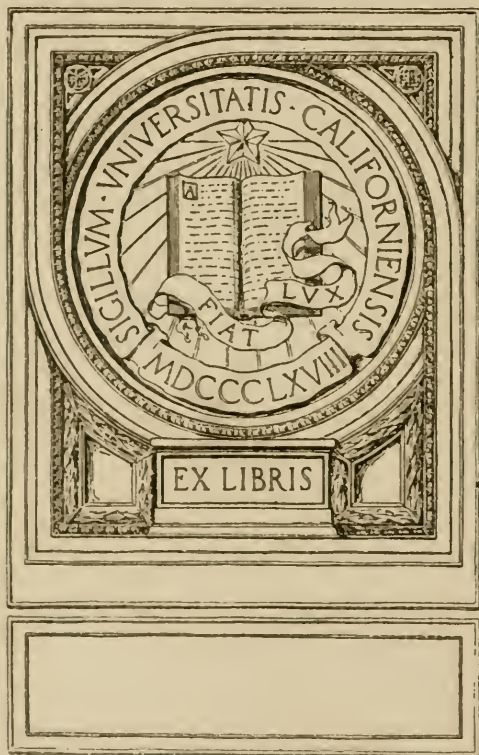
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, IN THE FACULTY  
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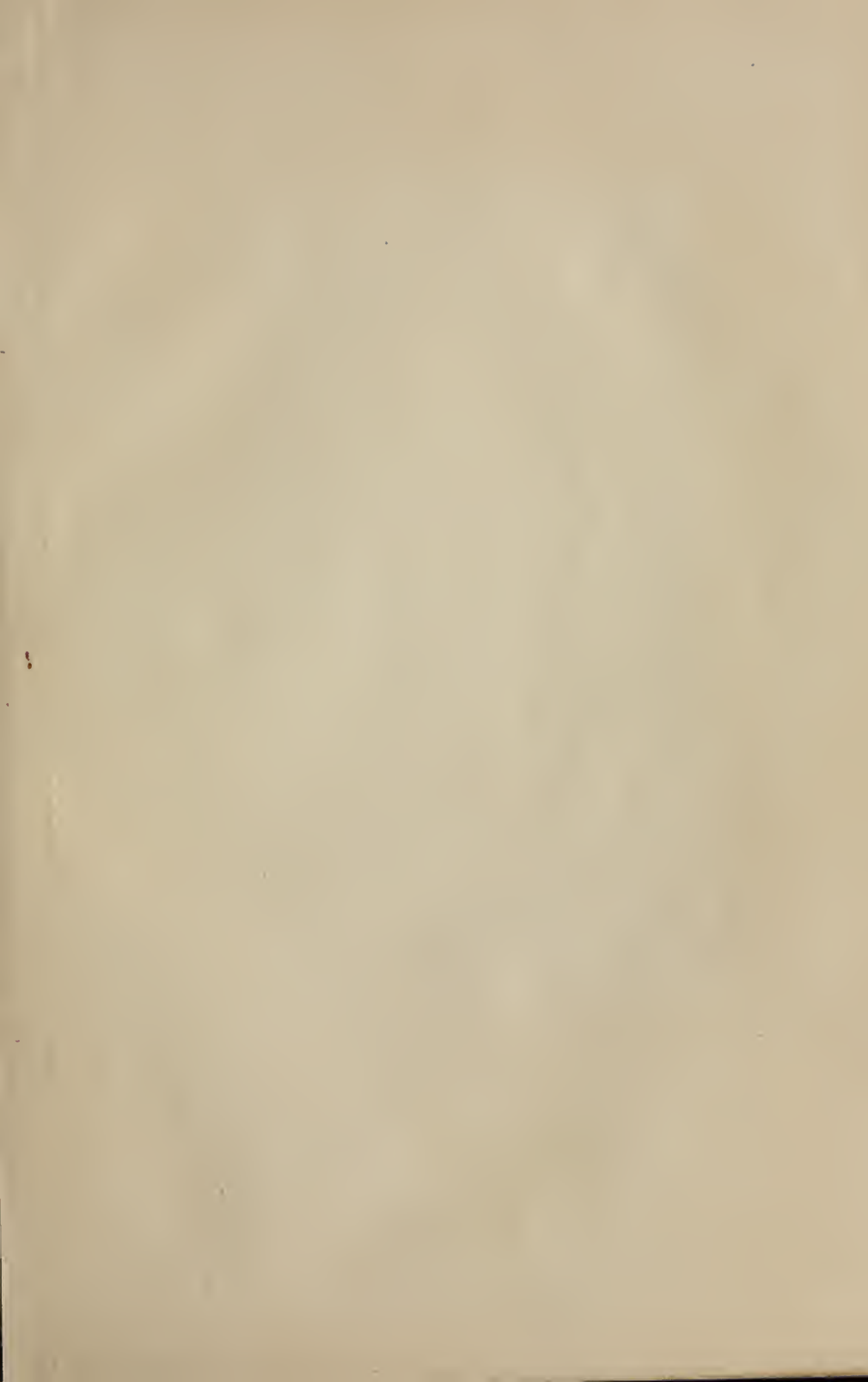
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Vol. VIII, No. 2, 145-165, and No. 3, 290-306, 1917

NEW YORK

1918

EXCHANGE







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AND THE  
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## PREFACE

My interest in the French Pre-Renaissance was first awakened by a course on the Renaissance in France, given by Professor T. A. Jenkins, at the University of Chicago, in 1906-1907. The phase of the subject on which I have written did not, however, take definite shape until 1909-1910, while studying at the Sorbonne, where I attended courses given by M. Antoine Thomas, whose thesis, *De Joannis de Monsterolio, vita et operibus*, helped me to define my own subject. I here desire to express my obligation to M. Thomas for his kindness in putting at my disposal unpublished material collected by him, on Ambrosius de Miliis, which I have incorporated in my dissertation. I also wish to express my obligation to M. Roy, conseiller à la Cour des Comptes de Paris, for some material on the subject of Gontier Col; and to M. Prou, directeur de l'Ecole des Chartes, for so kindly answering my inquiries about Sens. I am glad of an opportunity to thank these distinguished French scholars who, despite the grave matters that occupied them, have taken time to give me the information I desired.

Finally, I would express my thanks to the members of the Romance Department of Columbia University; especially to Professor H. A. Todd for his constant help and for his careful reading of my dissertation in proof-sheets, and to Professor John L. Gerig, for putting at my disposal bibliographical and other data, and for helping me solve certain problems of presentation. My thanks are also due to Professor John M. Burnam, of the University of Cincinnati, for kindly consenting to read my transcription of the Latin ms. letter in the Tours library; and to Miss I. G. Mudge, reference librarian of Columbia University, for her generous help in the bibliographical field, and for reading the bibliography in proof.

One word in conclusion. The texts of the passages published in my dissertation, and drawn from various sources, have been printed as they were found: they have not been modernized.

A. DE L. L. D.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,  
April, 1916.



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# GONTIER COL AND THE FRENCH PRE-RENAISSANCE

## PART I.—OFFICIAL AND DIPLOMATIC CAREER

### INTRODUCTION.

TOWARDS the end of the fourteenth century there appeared in France a small group of literary men, the best known of whom is Jehan de Monstereul.<sup>1</sup> Together with his two friends, Nicolas de Clamenges and Gontier Col, Jehan de Monstereul forms the nucleus of a movement inspired by a deep admiration for the writers of antiquity and the Renaissance that was beginning in Italy. France produced no immediate successors to this group, and she had to wait about a century for her Renaissance, a fact that has often been put down to the prevalence of troublous times. That explanation has not proved satisfactory to all critics, some of whom claim that political conditions in Italy were equally troubled. In face of the lack of convincing evidence, it would be idle to speculate as to how far the temporary failure of the movement in France may have been due to the fact that two of the prime movers were of the Armagnac party and lost their lives because of political animosities. Irrespective of results, they hold a place in the history of the inception of the Renaissance idea in France. One of the chief of these, as has already been said, is Gontier Col, whose career shows an interesting parallel to that of his life-long friend, Jean de Monstereul, best known of the Pre-Renaissance group and according to some authorities the only real Pre-Humanist in France. Both men acted as secretary to Charles VI, both were inspired by a great love for classical antiquity, both had come in contact with Italian Humanism, both were Armagnacs, and both were murdered, it is believed, by the Burgundians in Paris in 1418. Their lives paralleled somewhat that of their contemporary and acquaintance, the Italian Humanist, Coluccio Salutati, Petrarch's friend. He too was a diplomat, the secretary of two Popes (Urban II and Gregory XI), and employed

<sup>1</sup> For the form of this name see A. Thomas, *Le nom et la famille de Jehan de Monstereul in Romania*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 594, note 1.

in the service of the Republic of Venice; and his influence, like that of Col, was felt chiefly thru his personal relations with the men of the time and thru his correspondence, neither of these men having left works of a purely literary character—unless we except Col's letters in the "*Débat du Roman de la Rose*," the rôle he played in that quarrel being fairly well known. The fact is that Col is remembered—by those few modern readers who remember him at all—as the man who wrote some rude letters to Christine de Pisan.

The reputation that Col had among his contemporaries was a very different one, as is shown, for instance, by the Religieux de St. Denis,<sup>2</sup> who speaks of him as a man of much learning and as one whose trustworthiness had been tested; and this opinion is reflected by Petit de Julleville:<sup>3</sup>

"Ce fut un étrange personnage que ce Gontier Col et sa vie est pour nous un exemple admirable de simplicité et de modestie. Qui croirait que ce personnage si peu connu a été employé dans les ambassades les plus sérieuses, dans les missions les plus considérables?"

This modesty of Col's perhaps explains why a man should come down to posterity bracketed with a passing incident, when some of his real services to his country and to the development of the times had been overlooked. This does not mean that Col was a great man. As has often been said, however, the tendencies of the times frequently show themselves more clearly in the minor personages of an epoch than in the geniuses; accordingly in the career of this Humanist and diplomat we may be able to bring to light some of the important characteristics and tendencies of the Pre-Renaissance in France.

#### I.—EARLY LIFE; FISCAL POSITION; COL BECOMES NOTARY AND SECRETARY TO KING CHARLES VI

Gontier Col was born at Sens in the département de l'Yonne. The exact date is not known, there being no parish records at Sens before the 16th century, but an approximation may be reached by

<sup>2</sup> Religieux de St. Denis, *Cronicorum Caroli Sexti* (Paris, 1896-1902), vol. iii, p. 3. For the Religieux de Saint Denis see: N. Valois, *Jacques de Nouvion et le Religieux de St. Denis*, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, vol. 63, p. 233, Paris, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue des cours et conférences*, 1896, p. 542.



means of certain comparisons.<sup>4</sup> The first precise date I have found with reference to Col is 1379,<sup>5</sup> when he is listed as "receveur des aides," a rather subordinate position. He was killed in 1418,<sup>6</sup> which would make a career of some thirty-nine years, based on the supposition that 1379 was the date of Col's first appointment. His most intimate friend and contemporary, Jean de Monstereul, was born in 1354,<sup>7</sup> and was also killed by the Burgundians in 1418.<sup>8</sup> Monstereul's first appointment of which there is any record dates from 1375.<sup>9</sup> It is probable that he was secretary to Charles VI as early as 1389,<sup>10</sup> and there is positive proof that he held that post in 1394.<sup>11</sup> Col had a similar appointment, possibly about 1387;<sup>12</sup> he certainly had a similar one in 1393. So that it seems that Col was born between 1350 and 1360. In the light of certain documents found by him, M. Roy fixes the date more closely than this.<sup>13</sup> In 1435 Marguerite Chacerat, Col's widow, was about sixty-two. Her marriage to Col might very well have taken place about 1388-1390, and that, together with Col's position in 1379, has led M. Roy to place the probable date of Col's birth as *circa* 1354.

Gontier Col's name is found spelled in a variety of ways, the most fantastic forms occurring in Rymer and Monstrelet. Some of them, such as Gautier, Gaultier, Goulthier, are probably due to mere blundering on the part of the scribes. Even the surname Col, which is a fairly simple monosyllable, appears as Coll, Colle, Coh, Coel, and Call. The name is rather an unusual one in France in the fourteenth century. Besides Col's immediate family, we find

<sup>4</sup> A. Thomas, *De Joannis de Monsterolio vita et operibus*, Parisiis, 1883, p. 80. U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge, Bio-bibliographie*, 1905-1907, article Gontier Col. M. Quantin, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Yonne*, Paris, 1862, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> L. Delisle, *Mandements et actes divers de Charles V*, Paris, 1874, No. 1869. p. 914.

<sup>6</sup> Sauval, *Antiquités de Paris*, Paris, 1724, vol. 3, p. 304. A. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> A. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6, note 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> See p. 8, *infra*.

<sup>13</sup> *Archives de l'Yonne*, H 528.

one Simon Col, a trumpeter of the King (1364)<sup>14</sup> mentioned by Machaut, and a certain Marie Col, whose connection with the Col family, if any, is not apparent.<sup>15</sup> There are also two curious references to a certain Gauthier or Walter Col, in the service of the English King as "Connétable de Bordeaux" in 1439, and as English diplomatic agent treating with the French in 1441.<sup>16</sup> The king he serves and the date preclude the possibility of this being our Gontier Col (died 1418), and there is nothing to show that our Gontier had a son of that name.

References are found to several children of Gontier Col's. One, a daughter, married a certain Charles de Beaumoulin.<sup>17</sup> The wedding took place between the twenty-sixth of February and the fifteenth of April, 1401-02, and, according to M. Roy, the Queen gave the bride "XX marcs d'argent dore."<sup>18</sup> That the wedding was celebrated with great pomp and circumstance is shown by the presence at the wedding of three kings, seventeen dukes and counts and twenty-two prelates. Another daughter of Gontier Col, Catherine by name, married an "escuier du roy" by the name of Jean Spifame.<sup>19</sup> Gontier also had two sons, John and Nicolas, possibly

<sup>14</sup> F. J. Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, vol. II, p. 332.

<sup>15</sup> See Th. Carte, *Catalogue des Rolles Gascons, Normands et François*, conservés dans les Archives de la Tour de Londres. A Londres et se trouve à Paris (1643), vol. I. Rotulus Normanniae de anno 8. Henrici V, Pars 3. Membrana 24, p. 354. (An. Dom. 1420, 1421.) De terris concessis Mariae Col.

<sup>16</sup> J. Delpit, *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, Paris, 1847, vol. i, p. 257; J. Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, Paris, 1866, p. 464.

<sup>17</sup> Porée, *Histoire des rues et des maisons de Sens*, Auxerre, 1915, p. 21, note 5: "Mon cousin maistre Nicolas Col me fait maistre an escript, le IX<sup>e</sup> jour de juillet mil IIII<sup>e</sup> soixante-et-onze que maistre Jehan Col, son frère estoit trespasé depuis (que) maistre Gonthier Col, leur père deulx ans depuys; et que son père avoit donné en mariage à sa soeur, qui esposa messire Charles de Beaumoulin quatre mille escuz d'or et cent livres de rente et cy costa sa vesture et ces abillemens pour ces dictes noces .XXII cens et XI escuz d'or; et que la mère à Marguerite Spifame femme à présent de Jaquet Le Mercier dit du Moulin, et en mariage douze cens escuz d'or et le chappiau d'or qui fut prisé quatre cens escuz d'or et la coiffe de perlez et la sainture d'or, et fut vestue très honnorablement. Et que il y avait en au nosses de sa soeur et de messire Charles trois roys, XVII que ducz que comtes et XXII prélas" (*Arch. Yonne*, E 300, fol. 137 v°).

<sup>18</sup> See App. A. This reference I owe to the kindness of M. Roy.

<sup>19</sup> A. Thomas, *Romania*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 598, n. 1. Douet D'Arcq, *Choir de Pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI*, Paris, 1863-64, vol. I, p. 426:



named after Col's two closest friends, Jehan de Monstereul and Nicolas de Clamenges. John, the eldest,<sup>20</sup> became a churchman like his uncle Pierre Col the Canon<sup>21</sup> (of whom later), and Nicolas, born in 1397, who became *maître des requestes de l'hôtel et prévôt de Sens*<sup>22</sup> and *seigneur de Paron* as his father had been before him.<sup>23</sup> Gontier Col was married about 1390 to Marguerite Chacerat,<sup>24</sup> the daughter of Jean Chacerat, a rich merchant and draper of Sens,<sup>25</sup>

"Jehan Spifame, escuier"; p. 428: "Jehan Spifame, escuier, cappitaine de Conflans-Sainte-Honorine," Paris, 24 mars. 1421. E. Raunié, *Epitaphier du Vieux Paris* (Paris, 1893), II, p. 377. M. Roy, *Le Chesnoy-les-Sens, Histoire d'un fief et de ses seigneurs*, Sens, 1901, p. 32.

<sup>20</sup> *Bulletin du Comité Historique*, 1851-1852, p. 93. In a letter ascribed to Col because of internal evidence altho not signed by him, he asks of the Pope a boon for his son, to cover the educational expenses of the boy, in view of his ardor for learning, his great devotion to the Church, and his unmistakable vocation for a religious life. In this letter Col mentions his own services to the French King and to the Pope. Porée, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>21</sup> Nicolas de Clamenges, *Opera Omnia*, Lydius edition, p. 307. Epist. CX.: "Audieram iam Petrum Colli germanum tuum constantiae esse, de cuius ex tam diuturna ac remotissima peregrinarum regionum visitatione salutarique reditu atque sospitate tecum vehementissime gaudeo," etc. L. Mirot: *Les d'Orgemont*, Paris, 1913, p. 223, n. 2, mentions him, in 1417, as follows: "Pierre d'Orgemont . . . fut remis en liberté . . . à condition d'habiter dans la maison claustrale de Pierre Col." The index of Mirot's work contains two more references to Jean Col (under the rubric: P. Col), which are as follows:

Die martis sequenti, vicesima octava aprilis, congregatis ad sonum campane et convenientibus in capitulo dominis Jacobo Trousselli, archidiacono Parisiensi. . . . Johanne Colli, canonicis Parisiensibus, etc. (*Op. cit.*, p. 263. Procès de Nicolas d'Orgemont. 28 avril.)

Die jovis de mane, etc. . . . Et ibidem ipse magister Nicolaus descendit et carceres capitali intravit et fuit rasmus in tonsura diaconi vel quasi: postmodum ad auditorium ad barram adductus et ibidem per dominos. . . . presentibus dominis. . . . Johanne Colli, canonicis Parisiensibus. (*Op. cit.*, p. 265. Procès de Nicolas d'Orgemont. 30 avril.)

Might not this be Jean Col, Gontier's son, concerning whom he wrote to the Pope asking for a living for him? As to Pierre Col's connection with the quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose*, see chapter on that subject, *infra*.

<sup>22</sup> Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 22; D'Hozier, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales*, vol. 807. Pièce 7.

<sup>23</sup> P. Quesvers et H. Stein, *Inscriptions de l'ancien diocèse de Sens*, Paris, 1897, vol. I, p. 516. Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>24</sup> Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Quesvers et Stein, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 516; M. Roy, *Le Chesnoy-les-Sens*, p. 33; A. Molinier, *Obituaire de la Province de Sens*, Paris, 1902, vol. I, 2<sup>e</sup> Partie, p. 894.

<sup>25</sup> Molinier, *op. cit.*, p. 894, note 3; M. Quantin, *Inventaire-Sommaire des Archives Départementales antérieures à 1790, Yonne Archives ecclésiastiques*. Série H, tome III, 1<sup>e</sup> Partie, 1882, pp. 116, 893, 896, 904, 910, 913-916, 920-921.

and a benefactor of the Célestins of that town.<sup>26</sup> His daughter, *domicella Margarete Chasserat relicta uxor domini Gonterii Col*,<sup>27</sup> left money to be buried by the Célestins, and *pro quattuor obitibus celebrandis in Quattuor Temporibus anni*. Her son Nicolas attended to part of her bequest to them.<sup>28</sup> Gontier was not himself a poor man, as is shown by his seigneurie of Paron and the revenue it brought in.<sup>29</sup> He also owned at Sens the *maison des Degrés*, the cellar of which still exists, situated on the Grande Rue, at the cross-ways where stood the parish church of S<sup>te</sup> Colombe.<sup>30</sup> This house, which in 1302 had belonged to a draper of the name of Guillaume le Compasseur, and for which Nicolas Col in 1441 paid an annual tax of "7 deniers" to the Abbaye of Saint Remy, finally passed into the hands of the Spifame family thru Catherine Col, who had married a Spifame.<sup>31</sup> All this would go to show that Col's possessions were fairly extensive. His father, Pierre Col, had also owned property as is seen by the record of the sale by Marguerite Chacerat, Gontier's widow, in 1425, of a piece of property that had been bought in 1339 by "Pierre Col de la Riole demeurant à Sens."<sup>32</sup> Gontier Col's parents, Pierre Col and his wife Isabeau, also left legacies to the churchmen of Sens, in return for certain religious services.<sup>33</sup> In the light of the above, it would seem that Gontier Col was a good example of the contemporary bourgeois, living in a town where the bourgeoisie to which he belonged was strong,<sup>34</sup> and whose *démêlés* with the bishop and the King form an interesting chapter of the development of the *tiers état* in France. Col prosecuted his studies in his native town as well as at Orleans,<sup>35</sup> whose schools were

<sup>26</sup> Quantin, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>27</sup> Molinier, *op. cit.*, pp. 894, 919-920.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 918.

<sup>29</sup> Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>30</sup> Porée, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>31</sup> Porée, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37; Quesvers et Stein, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 136, note 1.

<sup>32</sup> Quantin, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 107, 123.

<sup>34</sup> *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne*, 1851. M. Quantin, *Recherches sur le Tiers Etat au Moyen Age dans les pays qui forment aujourd'hui le département de Sens: IV, Commune de Sens*, pp. 238-246.

<sup>35</sup> *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio*. Ed. by D. Martène, Parisiis, 1724-1733, VII, p. 471: "Ego, Gonterus Colli, clericus Senonensis." A. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 80, n. 4.

well known in the Middle Ages. As has been indicated, Col's first position, so far as we know, was the post of "receveur des aides ès terres entre les rivières de Seine et de Dyne."<sup>36</sup> That he had not held the post very long may be surmised from the King's grant to him, in the ensuing spring, of a house rent-free in Evreux, in view of the fact that he had no fixed residence there ("pour consideration de ce que le dit receveur n'est pas du pais dessus dit").<sup>37</sup> He held a fiscal position in 1393,<sup>38</sup> judging by his "quittances" dated in that year. It was probably while he was at Evreux that he rented his own house at Sens to the "Chambre" of that town, as is seen in the "Cartulaire Sénonais."<sup>39</sup> This work as fiscal agent did not take up all Col's time, for he is listed among the King's notaries as early as the term extending from the sixth of March, 1380, to the first of July following, 1381,<sup>40</sup> when he was in the "Chancellerie," and in the "Requestes," and for which he was paid *six sous paris* per day.

Col also received a "manteaul," or rather the money-value of it for "le terme de Noël, l'an M.CCC.III<sup>xx</sup>" (1380)<sup>41</sup> and also for the "terme de la Panthecouste en suivant l'an IIII<sup>xx</sup> et un." He also receives the value of a cloak for the term ending on St. John's day, 1383.<sup>42</sup> These were the regular perquisites of the "nottaires." Col is also listed among the notaries of the King to whom salary

<sup>36</sup> L. Delisle, *Mandements et actes divers de Charles V*, Paris, 1874 (No. 1869), p. 914.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* (No. 1918), p. 933.

<sup>38</sup> J. Roman, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Collection des pièces originales du Cabinet des Titres, à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1909, vol. I, p. 384, No. 3320, *Quittances* of G. Col., February 24, 1380–March 22, 1393.

<sup>39</sup> *Cartulaire Sénonais de Balthazar Taveau*, publié par G. Julliot. Sens, 1884, p. 34:

"Avant que ledict hostel de ville fust basti, la chambre se tenoyt" es salles du Roy, desquelles Colard de Caleville, Chevalier, baillif de Sens, fit mettre hors les meubles appartenans à icelle ville, en hayne des procès meuz entre lui et ladictie ville. Et tint-on ladictie chambre par quelques années en la maison de Gonthier Col, secrétaire du Roy, asise au coing Sainte-Columbe, qui fut louée six escuz par an, ainsy qu'il se voyt par le compte rendu par Pierre Oger, pour l'an mil III<sup>e</sup> IIII<sup>xx</sup> XIII cy-dessoubz inventorié, et cotté XXII.

<sup>40</sup> Douet d'Arcq: *Comptes de l'Hôtel des rois de France, au XIV<sup>e</sup> et au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, Paris, 1854, p. 22. In a document dated February 24, 1390, Col does not subscribe himself as either notary or secretary of the King. (See App. B.) This does not necessarily mean, however, that he did not hold such posts at that time.

<sup>41</sup> Douet d'Arcq, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.



was paid in 1381,<sup>43</sup> and for the "terme de la Saint-Jean of 1388."<sup>44</sup> The date 1388 is interesting, in view of the Ordinance of 1387,<sup>45</sup> in item six of which, under the caption "Secrétaires & gaiges seruaus par nous," Col's name appears. This brings up a point that has been a good deal discussed, that is, the difference between the notaries and the secretaries of the King at this time. That the terms were used loosely is seen from the citation in the *Solennité de l'Évêque des Chartres*,<sup>46</sup> that about 1390 Gombier Col was a "notaire-secrétaire du roy" at a salary of *six sous parours* per day. This is the very expression,—"clerc notaire secrétaire du Roy nostre sire"—that Col used in referring to himself in a document he drew up and signed in 1393, in which he mentioned this sum, *six sous parours* per day, as his day salary.<sup>47</sup>

This usage of the two terms at the same time is probably due to the fact that while there was a difference made between the notaries and secretaries of the King in the first half of the fourteenth century, this difference disappeared later.<sup>48</sup> Both notaries and secretaries were *royal* *fais* members of the "college" of notaries and secretaries,<sup>49</sup> a formal organization that became a *confrérie* with a charter under Jean le Bon (1330).<sup>50</sup> The charter was ratified and expanded in 1365 by Charles VI,<sup>51</sup> who made a number of gifts to the corporation.<sup>52</sup> There were certain religious aspects to this body; certain days were celebrated by solemn high mass, such

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* p. 207.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* p. 222.

<sup>45</sup> *Sommaire des ordonnances des rois de France de la 1<sup>re</sup> Race*, Paris, 1789, vol. VII, p. 275, item 5. "Secrétaires & gaiges seruaus par nous . . . Gombier Col: nos deux Gombier et Bouchier seront paiez en Languedoc, c'est assavoir Gombier par deuant le nostre Trésorier sur lequel il est assigné de ses gaiges . . ." In view of the times, and the many known variants of Gombier Col's name, it may be taken that "Colier" is only another of these. I have, however, found no trace of Col's name in Languedoc.

<sup>46</sup> *Id.* p. 221, l. 22.

<sup>47</sup> See App. C.

<sup>48</sup> L. E. Langbehn, *Essai sur les clercs notaires et secrétaires de nos Rois depuis leur établissement jusqu'en 1615*, Ch. II § 3, in *Essai historique des Chartes. Thèse présentée par les Facultés de la Sorbonne le 25-26-27*.

<sup>49</sup> *Mart.* Le premier chapitre de la confrérie, Paris, 1890, p. 320, § 2.

<sup>50</sup> *Mart.* 1891-92, *Mart.* 19, 20, p. 320, sur text et chartes.

<sup>51</sup> *Mart.* 19, 20, pp. 321-322.

<sup>52</sup> *Mart.* 19, 20, p. 317.

as that of "St. Jean-Porte-Latine,"<sup>12</sup> who was more especially their patron saint, and on whose feast, the sixth of May, after having gone to high mass<sup>13</sup> and first and second vespers, the confrères gave a banquet, and afterwards discussed matters of interest to them as an organization.<sup>14</sup> As those who absented themselves from these observances without a good reason had to pay a fine of *vingt sous parisis*, it is probable that the attendance was fairly good, and that the members had this occasion of meeting formally once a year. Informally they could meet as many times a day as they wished, for Charles VI had granted them, Nov. 29, 1392,<sup>15</sup> a room in the royal palace in which they could "faire leurs lectures, escriptures, et eulx assembler et parler de leurs besognes, se mesmer etc."

To these "club-life" aspects of the "confrérie" were added certain features in which it somewhat resembled the modern benevolent association. When a member fell into poverty without any fault of his, the other members of the "collège" assessed themselves for his assistance, and the recipient was not required to pay them back until he was fully able to do so.<sup>16</sup>

As a body, they had some jurisdiction over their members, showed in their charter great solicitude that their appearance should do honor to their calling, repeating some of the sumptuary laws of Charles V forbidding them to wear parti-colored hose and long pointed, fashionable shoes.<sup>17</sup> In addition to their salaries, these notaries and secretaries, as officers of the King, enjoyed many exemptions, e. g., from "peage, wimage, et autres redevances et courtoises"; and from all the " tailles,"<sup>18</sup> and when by mistake their names were included in the lists of those levied on for war-taxes,

<sup>12</sup> Emile Rume, *Épigraphie de France, Paris, 1869*, vol. II, pp. 304, 307-330.

<sup>13</sup> Morel, *op. cit.*, p. 321, § 5, " . . . En son mess n'este berré Jonnans aus Porten Latine n' en se mai . . ." This was celebrated in the Church of the "Celestins," in whose cloister the confrérie held its assemblies. Cf. E. Rume, III, 304, 307-330.

<sup>14</sup> Such, e. g., as their attempt to suppress the abuse of privileges among their own members. Seussie, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 275.

<sup>15</sup> Morel, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

<sup>16</sup> Morel, p. 323.

<sup>17</sup> Morel, p. 323.

<sup>18</sup> Morel, p. 323, n. 2.

the King had their names stricken out.<sup>59</sup> Add to the above that their letters were always sent *gratis*.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps it is not to be wondered at, in view of all this, that, in spite of the *ordonnances* to regulate their number,<sup>61</sup> and the examination that they had to take to prove that they were "capables de faire lettre tant en français qu'en latin,"<sup>62</sup> the notaries and secretaries of the King were increasing in number out of all proportion to the need felt for them by the State.

To this close corporation Jehan de Monstereul and Gontier Col both belonged, and to them must be added Pierre Manhac,<sup>63</sup> a personage who is but a name to us, but whom Jehan de Monstereul, in mentioning his teachers, bracketed with Col. The importance of this connection with the *confrérie* ought not to be unduly emphasized, yet it should not be quite disregarded, when we take into account the rôle that the friendship between Col and Monstereul played in the development of Pre-Humanism in France. Indeed, the presence of a certain literary tradition among the "notaires et secrétaires du roi," at this period, is of interest. Just a little after Col came Alain Chartier, and just before him one of the secretaries was Gervais du Bus, to whom has been attributed the second part of the *Fauvel*.<sup>64</sup> The question as to whether he really wrote it or not, is not the point here, but what is suggestive is, that he was held capable of having done so by critics casting about for an author.

These literary proclivities were not the exclusive appurtenance of the notaries of the King, for the notaries of Paris also had a *Confrérie*,<sup>65</sup> and among them are found two literary men of the times, Jean le Fèvre, translator of the *Lamenta* of Matheolus,<sup>66</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Morel, pp. 558-559 (list of notaries and secretaries so exempted for 1404 and 1405).

<sup>60</sup> Morel, p. 396.

<sup>61</sup> Morel, p. 562, October 19, 1406.

<sup>62</sup> Vuitry, *Régime financier de la France*. Nouvelle Série, tome II, p. 387.

<sup>63</sup> For signatures of Pierre Manhac cf. Morel, pp. 559-567; J. Du Mont, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens*, Amsterdam, 1726-1731, vol. ii, p. 245; Secousse, vol. vii, pp. 175, 236; vol. viii, p. 417; vol. x, p. 463.

<sup>64</sup> Ch. V. Langlois, *La vie en France au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1908, p. 279.

<sup>65</sup> Leber, *Collection de pièces relatives à l'histoire de France*, Paris, 1838, vol. 19, p. 325.

<sup>66</sup> *Les Lamentations de Mathéolus et le Livre de Leesce de Jehan le Fèvre, de Resson*, Paris, 1892.



and Martial d'Auvergne,<sup>67</sup> both being "Procureurs du Parlement de Paris." That gross ignorance of things literary was not prevalent at this time among the "gens du Palais," is shown by the library left by a "greffier du Parlement" quite unknown to literary annals.<sup>68</sup>

## II.—GONTIER COL GOES TO AVIGNON IN 1395 AS SECRETARY OF THE EMBASSY OF THE DUKES OF BERRY, BURGUNDY AND ORLEANS

In 1395 Gontier Col goes on his first embassy; the record of his official capacity, which he is careful to set down, runs solemnly as follows:<sup>1</sup> *Ego Gonterus Colli domini nostri regis secretarius, publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarius.*<sup>2</sup> This designation he repeats informally several times in the body of the Journal<sup>3</sup> of the proceedings of the trip which he wrote, conforming in this to a fashion which had apparently been set during the thirteenth century by the Venetian ambassadors, whose secretaries sent in a written report of the proceedings of the embassy within a fortnight after its return.<sup>4</sup> This embassy was the one headed by the dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Burgundy, which was sent to Avignon by Charles VI in an attempt to end the Great Schism. Col's Journal begins with the events of the 22d of September, 1394, when the news of the death of Clement VII reached Paris. The King at once assembled the Council,<sup>5</sup> of which Col was secretary, and letters

<sup>67</sup> Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 284-285.

<sup>68</sup> List of books in the will of Nicolas de l'Espoisse, greffier du Parlement: *Alixandre; Somme au Breton; Epistres de Pierre de Blois; De Vineis; Istoire de Troye la grant; Histoires d'oultremer; Policraticon; Epistres saint Bernard; Manipulus florum; Boece, de Consolacion; Stile de Parlement; Catholicon; A. Tuetey, "Testaments enregistrés au Parlement de Paris sous le règne de Charles VI," p. 608 seq., Paris, 1880. See also A. Lefranc, *Le Tiers Livre du Pantagruel et la querelle des Femmes*, in *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, 1904, 3<sup>e</sup> fascicule, pp. 80-81.*

<sup>1</sup> *Ampl. Col.* vol. vii, c. 465. See also *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 479.

<sup>2</sup> See Du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*, Parisiis, 1840, article "Notarius."

<sup>3</sup> *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 479; c. 491; c. 505; c. 524.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Nys, *Les Commencements de la diplomatie et le droit d'ambassade jusqu'à Grotius* in *Revue de Droit international*, 1883, p. 579. See also E. Alberi, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, Firenze, 1839. Prefazione, p. vii seq.

<sup>5</sup> E. Jarry, *La vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans*, Paris, 1889, p. 27.

were sent to Avignon to urge the postponement of the election of a new Pope; for perhaps this might prove an opportunity to end the Schism. The French letters were apparently disregarded, and the next news that came from the South was that of the election of Benedict XIII, in whom France proposed to have great confidence, and to whom the King promised to send messengers for the purpose of concluding the matter.<sup>6</sup> A meeting of the clergy of France was called<sup>7</sup> and, after discussing the various means of ending the trouble decided in favor of the withdrawal of both Popes;<sup>8</sup> and the French Princes going to Avignon were so instructed.

They set off with a great train of followers and making a great show. Nor is this beyond what might be expected in view of the importance of the undertaking and the reputation for luxury and display of the life at Avignon, a much criticized state of affairs<sup>9</sup> that was due, in part at any rate, to the incessant coming and going of ambassadors at the Papal court, and of kings and emperors as well.<sup>10</sup> To these secular occasions of display must be added the religious holidays, feast days, funerals of popes and installations of their successors.<sup>11</sup> In order to make a proper showing at all of these manifestations of pomp and circumstance, the Popes had in their employ many artists and artisans,<sup>12</sup> ranging from the workers in cloth and fur<sup>13</sup> to the embroiderers and silver- and goldsmiths (of which, by the way, there were forty attached to the pontifical court in 1376).<sup>14</sup> These enjoyed great vogue, the rage for silver and gold ornaments going so far that gold plaques were sewed on

<sup>6</sup> *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 438.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 458.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 439-458.

<sup>9</sup> Petrarch et Oresme. See G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon*, Paris, 1912, pp. xiii, xiv; E. Müntz, *L'argent et le luxe à la cour pontificale d'Avignon*, in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1899, Nouvelle Série, vol. xxii, p. 34.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 355-356.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 348, 351-355.

<sup>12</sup> E. Müntz, *Les Arts à la cour des papes*, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 1884, pp. 274-303; 1885, pp. 327-337; 1889, pp. 134-173.

<sup>13</sup> E. Müntz, *L'argent et le luxe à la cour pontificale d'Avignon*, in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1899, p. 384; E. Müntz, *Quelques artistes avignonnais du pontificat de Benoît XIII*, in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* for 1886, p. 111.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392. See below.



the gloves of the Popes,<sup>15</sup> while Benedict XIII in 1405 paid three hundred *florins courants* for a bit of silver enamel for his mule.<sup>16</sup>

The Popes were solicitous of having a fit setting for these pageants. The palace of the Popes is a monument to their care in this direction,<sup>17</sup> and, in the palace, paintings signed by well-known names, vying with valuable tapestries, gave a colorful background to the glittering crowd of courtiers and prelates who thronged Avignon.<sup>18</sup> But there is also another and more engaging manner in which the Popes of Avignon played the rôle of Maecenas; I mean as protectors of learning. The interest of Urban V<sup>19</sup> in founding schools and collecting a library, as well as the scholarly tastes of Gregory XI,<sup>20</sup> had set a certain intellectual standard at the Pontifical Court.

Our three dukes set out from Paris, traveling by boat (from Châlons) a great part of the distance,<sup>21</sup> and stopping at Dijon, where they were entertained by the court of Burgundy,<sup>22</sup> and where presents were exchanged. Col was with the ambassadors at the time. At Lyons also the dukes made a stay, and did not reach Avignon until Saturday, May 22, at four o'clock in the afternoon. Their credentials were at once presented to the Pope.<sup>23</sup> Benedict received them "moult honorablement" and after an exchange of compliments they "allèrent en la chambre de parement et la prindrent vin et especes."<sup>24</sup> The next day, Sunday, the envoys dined with the Pope, and it was not until Monday that the business of the embassy was touched upon, for that day was given to the formal opening discourse by Gilles Deschamps. Only on Tuesday, then,

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 389.

<sup>17</sup> Dignonnet, *Le Palais des Papes d'Avignon*, Avignon, 1907; J. Guiraud, *L'Eglise Romaine et les origines de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1904, pp. 22-29.

<sup>18</sup> Guiraud, *op. cit.*, p. 41 seq.

<sup>19</sup> Mollat, pp. 106-107. F. Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae romanorum pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis*, Rome, 1890, vol. i, pp. 274-450. Guiraud, pp. 52-78.

<sup>20</sup> Mollat, p. 119; Ehrle, vol. i, 451-574. For both see also M. Faucon, *La Librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, Paris, 1886, in *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*.

<sup>21</sup> N. Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, Paris, 1896-1902, vol. iii, p. 45.

<sup>22</sup> E. Jarry, *La vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans*, p. 132.

<sup>23</sup> *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 487.

<sup>24</sup> *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 488 seq.

was the matter really taken up in an audience with the Pope and Cardinals. The French envoys soon found that the Pope stood unconditionally for ending the Schism by a compromise; they, on the other hand, were committed to the "voie de cessation." The meetings were constant, and the dukes stayed on at Avignon as late as the first week in July without having effected any perceptible change in Benedict's point of view, or having even persuaded him to give them an "audience publique en plein consistoire."<sup>25</sup>

"Pour laquelle chose les devant dits ducs prindrent adonc congïé du pape, et se offrent à rapporter au roy tout ce que sa sainteté par eux lui voudroit denoncier. Auquel dirent finalement après les choses devant dites, que ce n'estoit point, ne n'avoit esté de leur entention de luy exposer ou faire exposer aucune chose qui ne cedât au bien de la besoigne, l'honneur de Dieu et de l'église et de sa sainteté: Après lesquelles choses ainsi dites, le pape leur pria moult affectueusement, que le lendemain ils voulsissent disner avec lui, et il parleroit encore à eux; et ils répondirent qu'ils y avoient assez mangé, et qu'il avoit parlé à eux tant comme il luy avoit plû, et que s'il ne leur vouloit autre chose dire, et venir à la voye que le roy luy conseilloit, qu'ils ne lui parleroient plus, et qu'ils s'en alloient devers le roy qui les avoit mandez, et les hastoit fort, et luy rapporteroient ce qu'ils avoient trouvé et à tant se partirent et s'en allerent."

Thus the French envoys finally left Avignon shortly after the ninth of July, having accomplished nothing towards bringing the Schism to an end.<sup>26</sup>

As far as literary merit is concerned, the only claim that the Journal has to offer is a certain clearness of phrasing, and an ability to keep to the point. There is no attempt at style or fine writing, even in handling the speeches made by members of the embassy or by the Pope, Col contenting himself with giving an outline of the contents in the most matter-of-fact way. It is only in a certain softening of asperities that one catches glimpses of the diplomat beneath the secretary.

Col's Journal has been considered of importance in the history of the relation of France to the Schism.<sup>27</sup> Valois has touched on

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 527.

<sup>26</sup> Jarry, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Valois, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 65.

<sup>27</sup> Printed in the *Am. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 479-528, from the MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, J. 518. In the library of Carpentras (see *Catalogue général des MSS. des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, vol. 35, p. 435. Collection Peires, 1801, p. xxxii). Recueil ayant pour titre au II<sup>e</sup> fol., I Généalogies, fol.

rather an interesting point in showing how much Col's work had been drawn upon by the Religieux de St. Denis in his *Chronica Caroli Sexti*<sup>28</sup> when describing the dukes' trip to Avignon. He says, "Le Religieux de St. Denis a eu ce document sous les yeux, mais ne l'a pas toujours utilisé d'une façon heureuse."<sup>29</sup> This is quite obvious on comparing the two documents. The Religieux curtails, paraphrases, transposes and adds to the original document. That he is inaccurate has been pointed out in a number of cases by Valois,<sup>30</sup> who also draws attention to the closeness with which the "Religieux" occasionally follows Col's text.<sup>31</sup> The Religieux, again, notes gossip that Col, mindful of his official position, leaves out. A case in point is the burning of the bridge at Avignon, concerning which the St. Denis chronicler repeats the charge current at the time that the Pope had been accused of burning the bridge at Avignon as an insult to the dukes.<sup>32</sup> Col simply makes a note of the fire, without any comment.<sup>33</sup>

The "Religieux" does not always use Col's material quite as it is found in the Journal. An instance of this is found in connection with the meeting of the duke of Berry and the Cardinals. At this point in his Journal, Col refers the reader to his Latin minutes of

285, "Excerpta ex relatione facta per magistrum Gontierium, regium secretarium, de solemnibus legationibus facta nomine regis ad papam Benedictum," etc. l'Abbé J. B. Christophe, in *Histoire de la Papauté pendant le 14<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris, 1853, vol. iii, 151, 153, mentions Col, and refers to journal in the *Ampl. Col.* without crediting it to him. Mentioned by Molinier, *Sources de l'histoire de France*, Paris, 1901-06, vol. iv, p. 176, No. 1367; E. Jarry, *Vie de Louis d'Orléans*, etc., p. 127; M. Creighton, *History of Papacy*, New York, 1899, vol. i, p. 149; N. Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, vol. iii, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, No. 63, p. 238 seq.; N. Valois, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, ch. i.

<sup>29</sup> Valois, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 3, n. 1.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46, n. 3. Col's statement (*Ampl. Col.* vol. vii, c. 487) here is borne out by E. Petit, *Itinéraire de Philippe le Hardi et Jean sans Peur*, Paris, 1888, p. 242. For other instances see Valois, vol. 3, p. 20, n. 3; p. 33, n. 2; p. 46, n. 3; p. 47, n. 4; p. 53, n. 1; p. 60, n. 2; p. 61, n. 3.

<sup>31</sup> See *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 491, § 20; and R. de St. D., vol. 2, p. 258.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>33</sup> *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 504-505:

Item, celle nuit environ minuit nos seigneurs estant à Villeneuve, furent toutes arses deux arches de bois qui estoient au pont d'Avignon, sans y rien demourer jusques à l'eau, et ne sçait-on qui le feu y bouta et esconvint (doit) adonc tout homme aller et venir par battiaux de Villeneuve en Avignon, & d'Avignon à Ville-neuve, & fut la ville d'Avignon de ce faict très troublée et en grant peur, et le pape pareillement, si comme on dit.

the meeting, "ut in instrumento Latino superius relato."<sup>34</sup> The "Religieux" not unnaturally gives in his text an extended account of the séance.<sup>35</sup> He does this also with respect to the bull<sup>36</sup> drawn up by Col for the text of which Maître Gontier refers the reader to the *Spicilegium* of d'Achery.<sup>37</sup> Parallel passages from the two works will illustrate how Col's Journal has been used by the "Religieux."<sup>38</sup>

### III.—GONTIER COL AND HIS PATRONS, THE DUKES OF BERRY AND ORLEANS

The influence of the Avignon mission on Col is interesting from several points of view. He was brought in contact with the early Italian Renaissance, with the city on which Petrarch had left his mark. Under the Popes, Avignon was half Italian; it was a town of color and display, of luxury and learning, of the cultivation of all the arts of existence, and his stay there gave Col a foretaste of that Italian life of which he had a further glimpse at the time of his embassy to Florence, in 1396. It is probably also during this trip to Avignon that he became known to the dukes of Berry and Orleans, with whose entourage he was connected.

The statement has been made that Col was secretary to the Duke of Orleans.<sup>1</sup> Whether he was formally in his employ or not, the fact remains that he was the recipient of his favors, as seen in the gift to Maître Gontier of a fur-lined red woolen serge cloak for the New Year.<sup>2</sup> It is easier to establish the fact that he was sec-

<sup>34</sup> *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, 466-472.

<sup>35</sup> *R. de St. D.*, vol. ii, pp. 264-276.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 286 seq.

<sup>37</sup> *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, col. 504. *Edita Spicil.*, tome 6.

<sup>38</sup> *R. de St. Denis*, vol. ii, p. 235 sqq.; *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vi, cols. 488-489.

<sup>1</sup> J. Roman, *Inventaires et Documents relatifs aux joyaux et tapisseries des princes d'Orléans-Valois, 1389-1481*.—Published in the *Recueil d'anciens inventaires, imprimés sous les auspices du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Section d'Archéologie*, Paris, 1896, vol. i, p. 176, note. This is the only statement that I have found concerning Col's secretaryship to the Duke of Orleans, and Roman cites neither source nor reference on the point.

<sup>2</sup> J. Roman, *Ibid.*, p. 176:

Ce sont les parties de robes fourrées par Thomassin Potier, fourreur et varlet de chambre de Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans, pour Monditseigneur le Duc, pour Charles et Philippe, messeigneurs ses enfans et autres a qui mondit seigneur a données robes en ceste présente année, commençant premier jour de



retary to the duke of Berry, although not to fix the date when he first took the post. There is an indirect reference connecting him with Berry in 1398-1399,<sup>3</sup> and he is formally entered as the duke's secretary in 1407.<sup>4</sup>

Various considerations go to prove that Col shared Berry's well-known "Amour extrême pour les arts,"<sup>5</sup> the love "des beaux livres enluminés, des riches joyaux, des élégantes ciselures, des reliques enchâssées dans l'or et les pierres précieuses."<sup>6</sup> For if, as Michelet says,<sup>7</sup> Louis of Orleans was the "esprit de la Renaissance" (and the rôle that Valentine Visconti<sup>8</sup> played in bringing the Italian Renaissance into France is well-known),<sup>9</sup> still the figure of John of Berry must not be forgotten. There was a good deal of the Italian Renaissance about Charles's uncle, with his love of luxury and his cultivation of the arts, his disregard of the provenance of the money that he spent like water in his rôle of a princely Maecenas,<sup>10</sup> the extortions that he exercised upon his subjects, and the notorious mismanagement of his provinces.

Février mil CCCIIII<sup>xx</sup> et seize, et finissant derrenier de janvier ensuivant mil CCCIIII<sup>xx</sup> et dix-sept.

(P. 176.) No. 368. Item ce jour (le premier jour de janvier ensuivant No. 367) trois longues houppelandes que Monseigneur a données, c'est assavoir, deux de drap de Dampnas noir, l'une à Regnault d'Angennes, et l'autre à Oudart de Renty, escuiers du Roy nostre Sire, et l'autre d'escarlate vermeille, à Maistre Gontier Col, son secretaire, toutes fourrées de martres de Puce, d'achat pour façon XV s. p. pour chascune valent . . . XLVIII s. p.

The above is also quoted in full by E. M. Graves, *Quelques pièces relatives à la vie de Louis I, duc d'Orléans, et de Valentine Visconti sa femme*, Paris, 1913, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Douet d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'hôtel des rois de France au XIV<sup>e</sup> et au XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, under heading *Extraits d'un compte de l'Hôtel de Jean, duc de Berry, du 1 mai 1398 au dernier février suivant* (1399), p. 312. Menus dons et offrandes. A Perrin de Bourdeduc, varlet de maistre Gontier Col qui amena de par le roy Nostre sire à Monditseigneur, ung coursier, 4 l. t.

<sup>4</sup> Rymer, *Foedere*, Londini, 1726-1735, vol. 8, p. 523.

<sup>5</sup> L. Raynal, *Histoire du Berry depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'en 1789*, Bourges, 1844-47, vol. ii, p. 376.

<sup>6</sup> A. de Champeaux et P. Gauchery, *Les travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France, duc de Berry*, Paris, 1894, pp. 114-185.

<sup>7</sup> *Histoire de France*, Paris, 1879-1884, vol. v, p. 160.

<sup>8</sup> A. M. F. Robinson, *The End of the Middle Ages* (London, 1889), pp. 102-178. See also note 7.

<sup>9</sup> P. Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, 1911.

<sup>10</sup> J. Gauchery, *Influence de Jean de France, duc de Berry sur le développement de l'architecture et des arts à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> et au commencement du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Caen. 1910.

Col apparently shared some of the artistic tastes, if not the methods of indulging them, of his princely patron; Col's present to the Duke of Berry of a "Bien Grande mappemonde escripte et historiée"<sup>11</sup> goes to show this. It is not the only present that he made to the Duke, judging from an entry concerning a gift made by Madame de Berry to the Duke of Burgundy of "Unes Heures de Nostre Dame historiées . . . et y sont les armes de maistre Gontier Col."<sup>12</sup>

A description of Col's seal may not be out of place here, as his arms have proved a valuable means of tracing some of his artistic possessions: "Ecu portant une fasce accompagnée de trois cols de cygne timbrée d'une tête humaine, supporté par deux personnages assis."<sup>13</sup> M. Roy gives the *armoiries* of the Col family as follows (*op. cit.*, p. 33, note): De gueules à la fasce d'azur chargée de 3 étoiles d'or et accompagnée de 3 têtes de cygne au naturel, 2 et 1.

This device belongs to the class of "punning" coats-of-arms (*armes parlantes*), and bears some features similar to that of the Duke of Berry, which consists of a bear and a swan, a pun on the first word of his motto,<sup>14</sup> "Oursine [ours, cygne] le temps venra."<sup>15</sup>

It is Col's arms also that revealed the presence of his "tapiz" in the "Inventaire des tapisseries du roy Charles VI vendues par les Anglais en 1422."<sup>16</sup> Nothing certain is known on the subject, but in view of Col's connection with the Palais, it is fairly easy to infer how his "tappiz" came to be found there.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, Paris, 1907, vol. ii, p. 254; J. Guiffrey, *Inventaire de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. i, p. 263.

<sup>12</sup> Delisle, *ibid.*, ii, p. 238.

<sup>13</sup> J. Roman, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Collection des pièces originales du Cabinet des Titres à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1909), vol. i, p. 384.

<sup>14</sup> *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*, 1899, pp. 62-73. For the Duke's interest in bears, see S. Luce, *La France pendant la guerre de cent ans*, Paris, 1890-93, 1<sup>re</sup> Série, pp. 223, 226.

<sup>15</sup> Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vol. v, p. 85, note 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, No. 48, pp. 105 and 420. Item, un autre tappis, fait aus armes, comme l'en dit, de maistre Gontier Col, contenant sept aulnes et demie. XXIIII s. p.—p. 420. Item, ung tappis vielz, fait, comme l'en dit, aux armes de maistre Gontier Col, contenant VIIJ aulnes et demie, inventorié ou dit inventoire articulo.

<sup>17</sup> This is not the place to do more than mention the vogue of tapestries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and their importance to literature in its graphic aspects. Its significance here is that it brings out Col's love for the

There is one side of the Renaissance—the Pagan side—with which Col apparently had little sympathy. An obvious if not very convincing religious feeling is strikingly characteristic of the Duke of Berry—a sentiment that Col apparently shared; and the gift made by Col to the Duke for the New Year, 1404, might without anachronism have found its place in the midst of the Middle Ages. This was the gift of a silver *arm*, in which were set “a bone from the arm of St. Stephen, a bone from the arm of Ste. Colombe, and several other relics.”<sup>18</sup> It may have been in the nature of a return gift for the forty “gectours” given him by the duke in 1401, each bearing on one side “Our Lady holding her child, and on the other the arms of the duke.”

Enough has been said to show that the attitude of the French dukes of the royal family as to the protection and cultivation of the arts bore a resemblance to that of the contemporary Italian princes. It was not yet the well-defined Renaissance point of view; everything done at this time still retained a strong mediaeval flavor, and it was preëminently an age of transition. What is to be noted is the trend of the times, and the struggle for expression in terms of a new formula of life. The Pre-Renaissance in France was not a purely scholarly movement, it had its artistic side, in which even an “intellectual” like Col, whose Humanistic development will be investigated later, takes an active interest. France did not have to wait for Francis I in order to enjoy the picturesque spectacle of Princes who cultivated the arts and vied with each other in extravagance.

*objets d'art.* See J. Guiffrey, *Histoire de la tapisserie en France*, Paris, 1878-85; A. Jubinal, *Recherches sur l'usage et l'origine des Tapisseries à Personnages dites historiées*, Paris, 1840; E. Müntz, *La Tapisserie*, Paris, 1882.

<sup>18</sup> J. Guiffrey, *Inventaire de Jean, duc de Berry*, Paris, 1894-96, vol. ii, p. 181, No. 205:

Item, un bras d'argent ouquel a un os du bras de Monseigneur Saint Estienne, un autre os du bras de Sainte Colombe et plusieurs autres reliques; le quel bras ainsi garni de reliques, comme dit est, maistre Gontier Col avoit donné à mondit Seigneur a estrainnes, le premier jour de janvier, l'an mil CCCC et quatre.

Vol. ii, p. 39, No. 254:

Item. Sept vins treze gectours d'argent, en chascun desquelz a en l'un des coustez un ymage de Nostre Dame tenant son enfant, et en l'autre les armes de mondit Seigneur; pesans trois mars, une once, quatre esterlins.

Dominis dedit XL magistro Gonterio Col ut monstat per computum dicti Robineti . . . etc. (1401).

IV.—COL ON EMBASSIES CONCERNED WITH THE MARRIAGE AND  
LATER WITH THE RETURN TO FRANCE OF ISABELLA.—  
EMBASSY TO FLORENCE

The mission to Avignon may have had some influence in bringing about Col's connection with the next embassy on which he went—a lay mission this time, yet one in which his experience at Avignon and his knowledge of the conditions there might prove of value, although the question of the Schism was to be taken up only as a side issue. The enterprise now in hand was the marriage of Isabella of France to Richard II. The preliminaries were well under way when Col appears in the matter, and King Richard was anxious that the little princess should be given into his care in the first week of August, 1396, at Calais. The English king also expressed the desire of taking this opportunity to meet the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to discuss “sur le fait de l'Eglise et de moult autres choses touchant le bien et l'honneur de luy et du roy et de leurs royaumes.”<sup>1</sup>

The king of France demurred,<sup>2</sup> finding the time too short to get Isabella's trousseau ready, and suggesting Michaelmas instead. As to the meeting with the dukes, the presence of the Duke of Berry was doubtful, but Burgundy would surely meet the English king at Calais,<sup>3</sup> and he would have power to treat of this question of the Schism. Burgundy had been a member of the Avignon embassy, as has been noted, so it seems natural to find Col's name in the list of those officials who were to accompany him to Calais. Whether Col went with him or not is not known, as his name is not in the list of those who were in Philip's company when he reached there some time in August.<sup>4</sup> This may be due to an oversight of the scribe, to some accidental detention of Col, or indeed to a third possibility, which may be here set down. Up to this time Col had been

<sup>1</sup> *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, vol. 19, p. 63; Léon Mirot, *Isabelle de France, reine d'Angleterre*.

<sup>2</sup> L. Mirot, *Un trousseau royal à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, in *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris and de l'Ile de France*, vol. 29 (1902), pp. 125-158.

<sup>3</sup> *Instructions pour les ducs de Berri et Bourgogne* (1396), quoted in Kervyn de Lettenhove's edition of Froissart, vol. 18, p. 578, from *Archives Nationales*, Paris, J. 644: 36. Also quoted by L. Mirot in *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, vol. 19, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70. For date see Petit, *Itinéraire de Philippe le Hardy*, etc., p. 255.



involved in the adjudication of the Schism, and there was to be a meeting in Paris in mid-August, called in history the "journée des Prélats," in which that question was to be discussed. The occasion had been considered so important that, in the "Instructions"<sup>5</sup> before referred to, the point had been made that it would be expedient for the duke to be in Paris at that time. Judging by Philip's tardy arrival in Calais, there was a chance that he might not get back to Paris in time for the meeting, and in that case Col, as the writer of the "Journal" of the Avignon embassy, may have been detained.<sup>6</sup>

His name is not listed in connection with the elaborate wedding ceremonies of Richard and Isabella, October, 1396, and the famous interview of Ardres.<sup>7</sup> In view of the number of noblemen and famous personages who were there present, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that a mere secretary of the King should be lost sight of. However that may be, in the month of November of 1396, Col went to Florence to negotiate a treaty with the Republic of Florence for the King his master, Charles VI, which treaty was signed on the 23d of that month. In the text of the treaty Col is listed as "viro utique venerando atque egregio magistro Guntero Colli, Secretario & Ambasciatore & Commissario Domini Serenissimi Regis Francorum." The treaty contained certain offensive and defensive features, by virtue of which Florence shortly afterwards called on the King of France for help against the Duke of Milan. In this letter, dated the 30th of December 1396,<sup>8</sup> Col is mentioned as "prudentissimus vir," and reference is made to the fact that he knows the situation in Florence well, and will relate the whole affair to the King "viva voce."

Col probably did not make a long stay in Florence at this time; but in view of his official position all sorts of doors were open to him, and he had the best possible opportunities to meet the eminent

<sup>5</sup> Froissart, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1874, vol. 18, p. 580.

<sup>6</sup> Denifle and Ehrle, *Archiv für literatur und kirchengeschichte des mittelalters*, Sechster Band, 1892, pp. 204-210, might lead one to suppose that it was not in his official capacity.

<sup>7</sup> P. Meyer, *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, vol. xviii (1881), p. 220 seq. L. Mirot, *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, vol. 19, pp. 83-95. Religieux de St. Denis, vol. ii, pp. 452-473.

<sup>8</sup> Roy, *Le Chesnoy-les-Sens*, p. 32; J. C. Lünig, *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus*. Francofurti & Lipsiae, 1725, vol. I, cols. 1109, 1116.

scholars of Humanistic Florence, and Col was not the man to neglect such opportunities. The trip is interesting in that it came so soon after the Avignon embassy, while the impression made by that trip was still fresh, this being the last of the Italian embassies participated in by Col.

Although Col did not play an important rôle in connection with this marriage of Isabella of France, it was to have been expected, in accordance with the royal policy, that business relating to a given country should be continued by the accustomed hands, that Col's name would appear in connection with Isabella's return to France after the death of Richard. He was, in fact, one of the envoys who were sent (1399-1400) "es marches de Calais,"<sup>9</sup> to meet the messengers of England and ask for the return of Isabella of France, the widow of Richard II, who, according to the marriage contract, was to be returned to Charles VI with a certain amount of her dowry, should Richard die without issue. The ambassadors were told to bring up before anything else the question of the restitution of the little queen. The request failed of the desired response, inasmuch as Henry IV wished to keep Isabella, and marry her to one of his sons. On the last of May, 1400,<sup>10</sup> new credentials were given to the same ambassadors to meet the English "es marches de nostre pais de Picardie." They were enjoined to insist, before the matter of truces was taken up, that the English send an answer to the request made concerning the return of Isabella. Of this embassy Col was a member; and although there was some haggling over the return of the wedding presents and jewels,<sup>11</sup> they succeeded in getting the promise of the English King that Isabella would be sent back to France by the first of November at the latest. This was not the last of the meetings of the French and English envoys. They convened again

<sup>9</sup> Froissart, vol. 18, p. 587, for *Instructions données à L'Evêque en Chartres, messieur Jehan de Hangest . . . maistre Pierre Blanchet . . . et maistre Gontier Col*. January 29, 1399. L. Mirot, *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, vol. 19, p. 486. Rymer's *Foedera*. App., A. C. D., *Thresor des Chartes*, p. 66, § 25. Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iii, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Douet d'Arcq, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 171 seq.

<sup>11</sup> Douet d'Arcq, *Pièces inédites*, vol. ii, p. 273. B. Williams, *Croniques de la Trahison & de la mort de Richard II, roi d'Angleterre*, London, 1846, pp. 108-113. Sir Harry Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, vol. i, p. 133.

in the Spring<sup>12</sup> to settle the details of the landing of the youthful queen,<sup>13</sup> and finally to draw up the requisite legal documents—which Col duly signed in his official capacity.<sup>14</sup> Although July 6th had been the date set for her to be restored to the French representatives, Isabella did not arrive until the first of August. As Col's name appears in some negotiations at Leulingham on the third of August, it is probable that he witnessed the ceremonies of her reception, which were carried out with great pomp.

The negotiations referred to, in which Col took part, were supposedly to discuss questions connected with the return of Isabella, but as a matter of fact, the whole sitting was given over to a discussion of the truces.<sup>15</sup>

This connection of Gontier Col with Isabella's marriage and subsequent return to France is of special interest to us, because it constitutes his introduction into the kind of work which he did for the rest of his life. I refer to his rôle as a diplomatic agent or "négociateur" as it was then called.

By this time, Col had won for himself a certain position in Paris. His name appears in the "Liste des Bourgeois notables de Paris à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle et au commencement du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,"<sup>16</sup> in the category including, "Apothécaires, chirurgiens, médecins, procureurs, sergents et autres professions libérales." A bourgeois by birth and standing, and as has already been seen, in easy circumstances financially,<sup>17</sup> he had married in the bourgeoisie, and was personally and by affiliation a fairly representative type of the *tiers état* which was coming to the fore at that time and which Charles V had utilized to instil new blood into the body politic. The *bourgeoisie* was "popular"; it had been so as far back as the days of *Renard le Contrefait*, in which poem it is frankly

<sup>12</sup> Religieux de St. Denis, vol. 3, p. 3. L. Mirot, *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, vol. 19, p. 500 (March 23, 1401). Instructions to Ambassadors. *Trésor des Chartes*, p. 68. *Ibid.* B. Williams, *Chronicque de la Traison et mort de Richart deux roy dengleterre*, London, 1848, p. lxiii. J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, London, 1884-1898, vol. i, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Sir Harry Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, London, 1834-37, vol. i, pp. 130-131, 136.

<sup>14</sup> Rymer, vol. 8, p. 194.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>16</sup> Le Roux de Lincy et Tisserand, *Paris et ses Historiens*, Paris, 1867, p. 253.

<sup>17</sup> Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

set up as a social ideal. The general hatred of the nobles prevalent in the fourteenth century tended to keep up this popularity, a hatred that was a legacy of the Jacquerie<sup>18</sup> and was enhanced by the defeats of Crécy and Poitiers, for which the country held the nobles responsible—not realizing that the old feudal army of knights was simply no longer an efficient instrument of warfare when pitted against the serried ranks of the men-at-arms. The king is offered a hint to this effect in the anonymous *Dit de Poitiers*, whose author suggests that when next the king goes to war he will do well not to put too much faith in his nobles:

“S’il est bien conseillé, il n’oubliera mie

Mener Jacques Bonhome en sa grant compagnie.”<sup>19</sup>

The point that has been touched upon at times, is not to be pressed, that the author was proposing an alliance between the proletariat and the king; yet the lines show that minds were breaking away from a feudal conception of life. There was a shifting of sociological values, and the *bourgeoisie* was coming to the front.

#### V.—TREASURER AND DIPLOMATIC AGENT; BANISHMENT (1401–1413)

The period from 1401 to 1407 is one during which Col’s diplomatic career was at a standstill. He is mentioned in the list of ambassadors on April 14, 1400,<sup>1</sup> but between that date and 1407 he is not listed anew. His name is not to be found in Rymer between these two dates.

Col’s activity along other lines in this period can be established more accurately. He is at work in connection with the finances of the kingdom in 1400, to judge by an *ordonnance* in which he is listed as follows:<sup>2</sup>

“Que pour estre a nos conseils, soient dix de nos secretaires qui aient gages de secretaires et non autres” and of them “six et non plus signeront sur nos finances.”

<sup>18</sup> S. Luce, *Histoire de la Jacquerie*, Paris, 1894, chap. ii, part i.

<sup>19</sup> *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* (1850–1851), 3<sup>e</sup> série, vol. 2, p. 263, ll. 93–95.

<sup>1</sup> *Thresor des Chartres*, Rept. *Foedere*, Appt. D, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Deleted.

<sup>3</sup> Secousse, vol. 8, p. 417, Item 22, January 7, 1400. (Entry bears on edge of paper “De secretariis consiliorum.”) See also *Meslanges Historiques*, Troyes, MDCXIX, p. 32.



Col's name is in both lists.<sup>4</sup> The *ordonnance* in which, under date of June 4, 1404, he is named one of the two trésoriers of France, mentions his previous experience in this position.<sup>5</sup>

"Que doresnavant ne ayons pour tout nostredit demaine, tant sur les Finances d'icelluy comme sur la Justice, que deux trésoriers lesquels nous avons nommez et nommons Gontier Col et Jehan de la Cloche lesquels ont exercé ja par longtems bien et duement ledit office, et de la loyauté et souffisance desquels nous sommes bien informés et bien contents."<sup>6</sup>

It may be inferred that he held this position until 1407,<sup>7</sup> when he is listed among the thirteen secretaries "pour estre a noz conseils," but no reference is made to any fiscal position. This is about the date when his diplomatic activities begin again.<sup>7a</sup>

In April, 1408, Col once more appeared in his rôle of "négo-  
ciateur." This time he and Casin de Serinvilliers are sent over to England<sup>8</sup> to continue negotiations for truces begun in September, 1407. When they landed the king was in the North of England, but English representatives were named to meet them, and the truce was extended to the last of September, 1408.<sup>9</sup> Col's stay in England was comparatively short this time, judging by the safe-conduct for him and sixteen persons which is dated the last of April, 1408.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For functions and origins of the "secrétaire des finances" see Morel, pp. 68-70.

<sup>5</sup> Secousse, vol. 9, p. 698. D'Hozier (*Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales*, vol. 807, pièce 7) says that there were four: "Gontier Col, notaire et secrétaire du roy Charles VI, et l'un des quatre trésoriers généraux de France."

<sup>6</sup> Col considered this position an important one, for in his letter to the Pope (cited chap. i, note 19) he speaks of his being in the employ of the King of France, and being promoted from minor offices to more important ones, "postremo vero in thesauriatus officio."<sup>a</sup> He goes on to say that formerly, because of the work involved, there had been seven appointees to the above-mentioned post, but that when he held it there were only two, and on that account he had been much overworked and unable to carry out a number of plans that he had made. The whole letter is interesting in that it is the most personal bit of writing that Col has left us.

<sup>7</sup> Secousse, vol. 9, p. 287, § 28, January 7.

<sup>7a</sup> No attempt has been made to trace Col's activities as *trésorier*.

<sup>8</sup> Rymer, vol. 8, pp. 513, 515, 517, 521-525. Wylie, *Henry IV*, vol. 3, p. 99.

<sup>9</sup> Carte, *Rolls* ii, p. 195. *Membrana* 12.

<sup>10</sup> Rymer, vol. 8, p. 525, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, London, 1903-09, *Henry IV*, vol. iii, p. 485. *Rotulus viaggi*. 9 Henry IV. *Membrana* 8 (1408).

This document is interesting in that it speaks of Col as being "Conseiller et Premier Secretaire nostre adversaire de France." He is again called a Conseiller in the safe-conduct<sup>11</sup> of the party of three hundred headed by the archbishop of Sens, who set out in the late summer of 1409 to meet the English and again take up the matter of the truces. The meeting never took place, however, the French Embassy having waited in Amiens until November for the English, who never came.<sup>12</sup> It was during this time of waiting that the archbishop of Sens was involved in the disgrace, followed by the death, of his brother, accused of dishonesty in fiscal matters. The prelate's clever ruse to gain his liberty is entertainingly related by Monstrelet.<sup>13</sup>

Paris seems to have grown weary of the non-arrival of the English ambassadors at Amiens, and decided on war.<sup>14</sup> Even then all diplomatic relations were not broken off. Safe-conducts were given by the English king to French envoys, including the Bishop of Noyon, Tignonville and Col;<sup>15</sup> and their meetings resulted in new truces,<sup>16</sup> "in terra particularium et in mari generalium." In 1410-1411 Col's name appears as a member of a party headed by the Bishop of Noyon which arranged a truce for the year 1411<sup>17</sup> and returned to France in the spring.<sup>18</sup> In 1410 Col was not only an envoy to foreign countries, but was engaged in factional negotiations as well. The rivalry between the dukes of Berry and Burgundy was growing more and more acrimonious. It was common gossip that Berry was planning to gather an army which he would conduct to Paris to see the King and the Duke of Burgundy (who was there with him)<sup>19</sup>—a plan that John was at no pains to conceal.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Rymer, vol. 8, p. 593, 15 August.

<sup>12</sup> Religieux de St. Denis, vol. 4, p. 253.

<sup>13</sup> Monstrelet, ed., Douet d'Arcq, *Chronique*, Paris, 1857-62, vol. ii, pp. 46-47. Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iv, p. 280.

<sup>14</sup> Douet d'Arcq, *Pièces inédites*, vol. i, p. 322.

<sup>15</sup> Rymer, vol. 8, p. 630; p. 652; p. 659; Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 199.

<sup>16</sup> Rymer, vol. 8, pp. 668-674. Monstrelet, vol. ii, p. 96. Carte, Rolles, ii, p. 200.

<sup>17</sup> Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 201.

<sup>18</sup> Rymer, vol. 8, p. 681; Carte, Rolles, ii, p. 202.

<sup>19</sup> Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI*, ed. Michaud et Poujoulat, Paris, 1854, p. 454.

<sup>20</sup> Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iv, p. 343.

To forestall anything further of that nature, the King sent to him a deputation of "illustres et notables personnages qu'on savait lui être chers, pour le faire changer de résolution"; and Col was one of them.<sup>21</sup> The embassy came to naught,<sup>22</sup> and partisan warfare was waged by the followers of the two dukes until November, when a truce was proclaimed.<sup>23</sup> It was not long effectual, and the year 1411 is full of civil war waged by the two political parties. Both sides were bidding for English help, but some messages sent by Orleans and Berry to Henry of England fell into hostile hands and were communicated to Charles VI.<sup>24</sup> Burgundy lost no time in making the most of these documents, and civil war was started anew. Col was banished as an Armagnac,<sup>25</sup> and had some difficulties concerning his post, as we learn from the following entry in the "Journal" of Nicolas de Baye:<sup>26</sup>

Lundi, xj<sup>e</sup> jour de juillet.

Sur la requeste faicte par maistre Richard Coste et baillée par escript avecques lettres de bannissement à l'encontre de maistre Gontier Col, qui s'estoit rendu fuitif et estoit, comme l'en disoit, avec mons. d'Orleans ou ses adherens, et oy maistre J. Fourcaut, qui en la cause avoit ja pieça occuppé pour ledit Gontier, le quel Fourcaut a dit que pieça n'avoit occuppé pour ledit Gontier, ne ne voloit occuper.

Dit a esté que la Court oste l'empeschement fait et mis audit Coste pour cause des bourses de notaire, en tant que touche ledit Gontier. Conseil XIII (X<sup>1a</sup> 1479), fol. 207 v<sup>o</sup>.

This was soon straightened out by the enforced peace between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, and offices lost through the civil war were restored. On the whole, Col's eclipse from diplomatic life was short, for his name appears again on a safe-conduct dated October 8, 1413; this is on the supposition that no documents bearing Col's name have been lost.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> De Barante, *Vie des ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. iii, p. 172 (ed. Paris, 1837); Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iv, 343.

<sup>22</sup> Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iv, 343-351.

<sup>23</sup> Douet d'Arcq, *Choix de Pièces Inédites*, vol. i, 329-335.

<sup>24</sup> Monstrelet, vol. ii, 236; Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iv, 626-630; Douet d'Arcq, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 248-49.

<sup>25</sup> *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, No. 48 (1887); J. Guiffrey, *Inventaire des Tapisseries du roi Charles VI vendues par les Anglais en 1422*, p. 105, n. 6. Roy, *Œuvres Poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, Paris, 1891, vol. ii, p. v.

<sup>26</sup> Ed. Tuetey, Paris, 1885-1888, vol. ii, p. 74.

<sup>27</sup> Secousse, vol. x, p. 24.

Therefore Col did not take part in drawing up the truces of 1412, but he is back at his position in the autumn of the ensuing year, as a member of the embassy headed by the Archbishop of Bourges,<sup>28</sup> whose credentials were signed by Charles on the 11th of November.<sup>29</sup> The party reached London in December, and were put up at Bishop Langley's hostel.<sup>30</sup> Their stay was moderately long, as the truces were not signed until the 24th of January, 1414,<sup>31</sup> their safe-conducts not until the 23d of January.<sup>32</sup>

There was discussed at this time the question of the marriage of Catherine of France, daughter of Charles VI, to Henry V. The French ambassadors were empowered to treat of this matter, which was done; and the upshot of it was that Henry promised that he would enter into no contract of marriage with any woman save Catherine of France up to the first of the following May.<sup>33</sup>

In connection with the negotiations for a marriage of Henry V and Catherine, Col encountered a diplomatic defeat; he was hopelessly outclassed by the diplomacy of the English king. Col was with the party of French envoys accredited to Henry, who went to the King at Leicester between the 17th of May and the 2d of June.<sup>34</sup> That Col was in England as late as the 11th of June is proved by the date of his safe-conduct.<sup>35</sup> In the course of the same month, under Col's very eyes, Henry V was negotiating with the representatives of the Duke of Burgundy concerning the possibility of a marriage with that prince's daughter, also Catherine by name.<sup>36</sup> That Col should not have known of the presence of the envoys of the Duke of Burgundy at the English Court at that time seems preposterous.

<sup>28</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, p. 90. Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 209.

<sup>29</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, p. 69. Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, Paris, 1881-91, vol. i, p. 254.

<sup>30</sup> J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry V*, Cambridge University Press, 1914, vol. i, p. 156.

<sup>31</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, pp. 91-101, 103, 110. Rymer, vol. 9, p. 118; Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 218. (Date given as January 28).

<sup>32</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, p. 90; Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 210.

<sup>33</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, p. 104. Time extended, pp. 140 and 182. Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, 211.

<sup>34</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, p. 189.

<sup>35</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, p. 139; Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 213.

<sup>36</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, p. 136; Wylie, *Henry V*, vol. i, p. 411; Beaucourt, *Charles VII*, vol. i, p. 255.



Nor indeed is there any doubt that they were there.<sup>37</sup> It seems inexplicable that a successful negotiator like Col should have been hoodwinked in such a matter, the more so as he was an Armagnac and owed his exile to the Burgundian party, so that he could scarcely have been suspected of a desire to shield them through his silence.

#### VI.—EMBASSY TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY (1414)

During Col's trip to England in 1414, he was in relations with Jeanne of Navarre, widow of Henry IV, and undertook a mission for her. Her first marriage had been to the Duke of Brittany, who had died, leaving her a son whose guardianship she gave up on marrying Henry. She claimed that certain dower rights of hers settled on her by the then duke, her husband, were not being paid to her by her son; accordingly she engaged Col to go to him in her behalf and ask that she be given her due. Maître Gontier has related at great length the details and outcome of this mission.<sup>1</sup> The heading of his entry runs:

Cy après ensuit ce que je Gontier Col ay dit de par très haulte et très excellent princesse la royne d'Angleterre à hault et puissant prince le duc de Bretaingne, son filz, en sa ville de Rennes, le XVIII jour d'ottobre mil CCCXIII, presens à ce son chancelier, l'evesque de Cornouaille son confesseur, et aucuns autres.

The relation itself begins with a flourish (p. 74) :

Moult hault et puissant prince, et mon très honnouré et redoubté seigneur, la très excellent et très noble princesse la royne d'Angleterre, vostre dame et mère, vous salue de très bon cuer par vraye amour et dilection maternelle en charité non faincte, comme la créature qui soit en cest monde qu'elle plus ame et qu'elle desire plus à veoir, etc.

The communication goes on to say that the Queen wishes her son to be informed that in him "gist et repose toute sa gloire, son reconfort et son espérance"; and continues with a long, pedantic passage, so characteristic of the times that I shall quote it in full,

<sup>37</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, p. 189. For expenses of Henry V, "par luy paieiz pour les dépenses des ambassadeurs de duk de Bourgogne" from the 19th of April to the 17th of June.

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin du Comité Historique des Monuments Ecris de l'Histoire de France*, vol. iv, 1853 (found under rubric, 1851-1853), pp. 73-93.

in spite of—or, I may rather say, in order to illustrate—the unendurable lengths to which Col carries a metaphor when once he has hit upon it.

Et ce n'est mie sens cause que ainsy le doye elle avoir en vous. Car comme dict le saige Cathon à son filz: "Consilium arcanum tacito commicte sodali. Corporis auxilium medico commicte fideli"; et après dit: "Nec quisquis melior medicus quam fidus amicus," c'est à dire: "Tu dois commectre ton conseil secret à ton taisible compaignon," ou "serviteur," et le secons: "et aide de ton corps au loyal medecin," ne "il n'est nul meilleur medecin que ung loyal ami." Et mon très redoubté seigneur, vous estes son loyal ami, son loyal medecin, en qui elle a parfaicte confiance et esperance ferme d'estre par vous guerie de la grant douleur et grieve maladie qu'elle souffre, Car comme dist François Petrarcha en une sienne espitre: "Ille efficacissimus est medicus ad sanandum, de quo eger maxime sperat; celluy est très efficace medecin pour guerir de qui le malade a très grant confiance." Et pour ce, très honnouré et redoubté seigneur, que, comme dist Boece en son livre qu'il fist *de Consolatione Philosophie*, ou premier livre, en la IIII<sup>e</sup> phrase: Si medicantis operam expectas oportet vulnus detegas; se tu actens lemiere et l'operation du medecin, il convient que tu luy descueuvres ta playe; pour ce m'a elle envoye devers vous pour vous decouvrir et ouvrir sa playe et la cause de sa douleur afin que, icelle playe bien à vous decouverte a plain, vous y vueillez remedier et li bailler oignement et anthidote salutaire, ainsy qu'elle en a en vous parfaicte fiance et que tenus y estes. Et ja soit ce que vous aiez pieça eue cognoissance et sceue la plus grant partie de la cause et racine de sa ditte douleur et de sa maladie par aucuns de ses serveurs et par ses lettres, neantmoins ne s'en est elle encores apperceue et ne scet se ceulz qu'elle y a envoyez ont voulu ou osé dire ce qu'elle leur avoit enchargie, car par chose qu'ilz vous aient dit ne qu'elle vous en ait escript, elle ne s'est point apperceue d'aucun amendement ne n'est sa playe venue à cicatrice, ne environnée et liée d'oignement medicinal ne nourrie d'uille ou de basme." Nondum nec plaga venit ad cicatricem nec est circumligata medicamine neque fota oleo "Et pour ce elle esperant fermement que à ceste foiz elle y trouvera confort et remede convenable, et que vous vous monstrerez envers elle filz d'obedience, vray et loyal amy et medecin de salut en qui elle a toute confiance et ferme esperance, elle m'a renvoyé devers vous, car le saige Cathon que j'ay cy-devant allegué, dit; "Cumque mones aliquem nec se velit ipse moneri, si tibi sit carus, noli desistere ceptis"; c'est à dire; "Se tu admonnestes aucun à faire bien et il ne y veult condescendre ne enterdre, s'il est tel que

tu l'aies cher et l'ames, ne desiste point à faire et continuer ce que tu as commencié." Et pour ce que sur toutes les choses de ce monde, elle vous ame, elle ne se veult desister de vous admonnester de bien faire et de vous acquicter envers Dieu, envers vostre vaillant pere et envers elle. Et quant il plaira à vostre très haulte seigneurie et profonde prudence, je vous diray tout au long son intention et la descouverte de sa douleur et maladie soit à vous seul, soit en la presence de vostre conseil ou ainsy qu'il vous plaira moy commander. Et veez cy unes lettres closes qu'elle vous envoie.

Col concludes by asking for a private interview, which is granted to him—so far as its privacy is concerned—to the extent that the duke keeps with him only "son chancelier, l'evesque de Cornouaille et son confesseur, les arcediacres de Rennes et de Nantes, Joecte et Mauleon."

After all these preliminaries, Col finally attacks the real matter in hand—not without first assuring the Duke that he will say only what he has been asked to say, and protesting his unworthiness for treating matters so important and involving personages so exalted. Then follows a six-page speech, which although again interlarded with Latin quotations, is much more to the point. Col begins with a panegyric of the Duke's father, and of Queen Jeanne, and then reminds the Duke that "la loy dit: Interest rei publice, ne mulieres remaneant indotate,"<sup>2</sup> and that the custom of the duchy is that the duchess must have as dowry a third of the duchy, without counting the conquests made since the marriage, nor the furniture, which come to her by right. All this the deceased duke understood and conceded, and acted accordingly, even arranging a sliding scale of fines for the non-payment of her dowry. Not only has this not been paid, but the Queen has a "caier" full of grievances which she sends to her son, whose unfilial conduct she puts down to bad advice from his entourage (p. 81):

Car elle me dist en plourant: Gontier, je suis plus doulente de mon enfent, que je voy ainsy desvoyé et hors de sa bonne inclination naturelle, que je ne suis de tout quanque on m'a fait de griefz, car je l'ay tousjours trouvé vray, naturel, loyal, humble et obéissant filz envers moy, mais [ceux] qu'il a entour luy et qui le gouvernent à leur guise, et vivent et amandent du sien, grandement lui ont fait faire en ce et en autres choses ce qu'il a mal fait et il le cognoistra

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

bien au long à l'eur. Je n'en doubte mie, et quant il les aura bien cogneuz, il les amera moins et les mettra arrière de soy, s'il est saige et bien advisez.

To turn the duke from his present course, Col proceeds to quote Scripture concerning the duty of children to parents. He then waxes confidential, and reminds the Duke that Jeanne is only a woman after all (p. 83). "Car comme dit maistre Jehan de Mehun en son livre de la Rose: Tel avantaige ont toutes femmes qu'ells sont de leur voulenté dames." That is Jeanne, if not satisfied, may call upon the King of France for justice, or marry either a French or English nobleman or great prince, who will come and wreak vengeance on an undutiful son and lay waste his lands. The Duke too is a diplomat and answers in kind: "Gontier, saichés certainement que je vueil faire et acomplir toute ma vie la bonne voulenté et plaisir de madame ma mere, ne jà jour que je vive ne feray le contraire"; and he keeps Col to dinner.

But the matter stops there. Col can get no satisfactory answer from either duke or chancellor. Finally after a fruitless stay of fourteen days, he seeks out the authorities anew and makes them the following proposition (p. 84):

Messieurs, je vōy bien que vous avez moult à faire et estes moult embesongnez pour l'alée de monseigneur et de madame en France. S'il vous plaist, je feray une minue pour vous abrégier et relever de peine de ce qu'il me semble que mon seigneur le duc doit faire. Et ilz me respondirent que je disoye tres bien et qu'ils m'en prioient. Adonc fiz les minues qui s'ensuivent, lesquelles je leur baillay.

Col's "minues" proceed to enumerate the various moneys the Queen claims, and demands the restitution to the Queen's appointees of positions within her gift which had been fraudulently given to followers of the Duke. It mentions furniture, embroideries, letters that the Queen claims. The letter mentioned above then follows. It did not find favor in the eyes of the Duke or his Council, so the wily ambassador wrote another.

Col is now genuinely alarmed as to the outcome of his embassy; he lays aside all flights of oratory, and his anxiety is couched in very simple style:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 89.



Et s'il semble à mon dit s' le duc qu'il y doive avoir aucune modération, adjonction, ou exception, soit fait à sa bonne voulenté et plaisir; mais que, pour Dieu, je ne m'en aille point ainsi que je suis venu, sens qu'il appere à madame sa mere que je aye aucunement besogné en la matere pour laquelle elle m'a envoyé par devers monsieur son filz: de laquelle chose je lui supplie très-humblement.

Col can get no answer from the Duke's entourage in reply to the second letter, beyond the general statement of their prince's filial intentions towards Queen Jeanne.

Après ces choses (Col continues)<sup>4</sup> je vins au duc, et lui dis la response dessus dicte qui m'avoit esté faicte de par lui en lui suppliant que je eusse de lui aultre response, et que onques, en ma vie n'avois esté en ambaxade dont je ne reportasse response par escript de ce que je avoye dit et baillé par escript, et aussi qu'il me rendist le quayer que je lui avoye baillé, signé de la main de sa dame et mère. A quoy il me respondi qu'il envoyeroit devers sa dame et mere de ses gens qui la contenteroient et diroient sa voulenté du tout, quant il seroit à Paris ou en France, là où il et la duchesse venoient, ou qu'il me feroit lors tele et si bonne response que j'en seroie bien content et par moy mesme lui feroit faire la dicte response agréable à elle. Et quant estoit dudit quayer ravoir, il ne le me rendroit point, mais la coppie en auroye volentiers, et autre response n'en peu lors avoir ne rapporter de lui ne d'autre de par lui, jasoit à ce que plusieurs foiz en aie fait requeste à grant instance. A donc prins congé de lui, et vins en mon hostellerie, comptay et payay mes despens, et me parti pour venir à Paris. Et quant je fu à Paris, trouvay que le duc ne la duchesse n'y venoient point, mais yroient à Montargis devers la royne. Je vins audit Montargis et ylece attendi sa venue, lequel y arriva le jour de Saint Andry. Et yllece l'ay sollicité moult diligemment d'avoir sa response, ainsi que promis m'avoit. Et en final conclusion n'ay eu de lui autre response, fors qu'il est et sera toute sa vie vray humble et obéissant filz à sa dame et mère, et qu'il fera toute sa vie le bon plaisir d'elle, ne en chose qui touche les terres et aussiete il ne touchera; mais en joira paisiblement et ses officers sens aucun trouble ou empeschment, exepté des cappitaines, les quels pour riens il ne souffreroit que autre les y meist, mesmement tant quelle sera demoure en Angleterre et que nul ne lui devroit conseiller le contraire. A tant m'en suis venu.

As has been seen in the above excerpts, the Bible leads with five quotations, then follow Boëthius, Cato, Terence, Horace,

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.



Sallust, "la loy," "les droiz," "la tragédie." It is rather astonishing not to find quotations from Virgil and Pliny, in view of Col's supposed devotion to those two writers. When Col avoids "le style noble," and finishes a sentence without using the sign &, he occasionally turns out phrases that please by a certain simplicity and concreteness. Hauréau says of the journal of this mission: "C'est une pièce française aussi intéressante pour la littérature que pour l'histoire."<sup>5</sup> It shows us Col as a chroniqueur in a small way, altho his accounts of negotiations in which he was involved, the Journal of 1395, the negotiations with the Duke of Brittany in 1414, and the account of Winchester Week in 1415, were not written from a purely literary point of view, but were simply the report of an embassy, drawn up by its secretary on his return, yet thru these reports we may connect Col with the long list of lesser writers on matters of a historical nature during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. One could scarcely adduce better examples in support of that most seductive of literary theories—that of "the time, the place and the subject"—than are afforded by the writers of Chronicles and historical annals in France during those two centuries. In that epoch of internal dissensions and foreign wars, even the would-be impartial historian was something of a propagandist for his party. And it would certainly be a mistake to overlook the literary merits of those diplomatic envoys who, like Col, elaborated on their return detailed reports of the vicissitudes and final outcome of their negotiations. Those men acquired the habit of describing minor events minutely and putting them in their proper perspective. Thus they constituted themselves the precursors of that brilliant array of writers of memoirs who are the distinctive pride and honor of a later period of French literature.

#### VII.—WINCHESTER WEEK (1415)

During the autumn of 1414 there are no indications of further diplomatic activities on the part of Col. The storm was gathering across the Channel. Henry was making every preparation for war, even while sending over to Paris an embassy, the terms of which included demands for so much French territory and for so large a

<sup>5</sup> Nouvelle Biographie Générale, article "Col."

dowry for Catherine<sup>1</sup> that the conference came to naught, and the only agreement arrived at was that Charles would send a return embassy to Henry for the further discussion of terms with the King in person. This ill-starred embassy set out with pomp and circumstance, three hundred strong, including prominent men and famous orators,<sup>2</sup> among whom was "M<sup>e</sup> G. Col,"<sup>3</sup> who wrote a *Relation* of the trip for the Archbishop of Bourges, the head of the embassy.

The *Relation* is very irregular in style; some of it reads like the minutes of a committee, sentences are inconclusively ended with "&c.," and in general it bears indications of haste and incompleteness. A good example of this is the entry under Tuesday, the 2d of July:<sup>4</sup>

Et apres en conclusion dirent, que nous conclusions sur la voye d'affinité & de mariage, &c. Et nous requirent & demanderent en mariage Madame K. avecque tel dot et dotalite que à une telle Dame, et pour un Roy appartient, &c. & que nous eslasgassions, &c. plus avant que ce qui leur a esté baillé par escript & offert, &c. Surquoy eusmes advis, &c. & leur offrismes cinquante mille francs, outre, &c. Premises les protestations accoustumées, &c. Et apres qu'ils eurent esté à conseil sur cette offre, retournerent à nous, et nous dirent que de la somme par eux demandée qui est d'un million, ils nous rabattoient cinquante mil, &c. Et pource que l'heure estoit tarde, nous partismes, &c. Et fut dit qu'ils rapportroient à leur Seigneur c'en que, &c. Et l'endemain serions au lieu, &c.

On the other hand, some three pages later, Col gives quite a life-like description of the royal reception of a mediaeval embassy:<sup>5</sup>

Item, le Iudy, 4 jour de Iuilliet feusmes mandés et envoyés querir pour aller devant le Roy, ainsi que ordonné et appointié avoit esté le Mecredy precedent, au departement des gens du Roy et de nous, et vindrent pour nous querir entre huit et neuf heures

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, pp. 206-208.

<sup>2</sup> Religieux de St. Denis, v, p. 506. For safe-conducts, April, 1415, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 219; Carte, Rolles, ii, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> Hall's *Chronicle*, London, 1809, p. 58; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. iii, p. 72; T. Goodwin, *History of the Reign of Henry V*, London, 1704, p. 56; Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. i, p. 259.

<sup>4</sup> Besse, *Recueil de Diverses Pièces servant à l'histoire du Roy Charles VI* (Paris, 1660), p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Besse, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

les Evesques de Duresme [Durham], et de Chestre et le seigneur du Souch; alames tout droict au Palais de l'Evesque où le Roy estoit logié et nous mena en la chambre de l'Evesque de Norebbich [Norwich], et assez tost apres ledit Evesque de Norebbich nous vint querir, et nous mena haut en la chambre où le Roy estoit tout droit appuyé sur un dreçoir, et un oreiller de soye dessous son bras, et en sa compagnie estoient ses trois freres, son Chancelier, les Evesques de Duresme, de Norebbich, L'Archevesque de Canturbery, l'Evesque de Chestre, le Duc d'Yorc, le Comte de Houemden [Hovenden], le Comte de la Marche, le Comte Mareschal, le Comte d'Orsete [of Dorset], son Confesseur Carme, son Secretaire, et aucuns autres, et à l'entrée nous agenoülasmes, et feismes la reverence au Roy et puis nous tirasmes à part; et puis tantost apres Mess. l'Archevesque de Bourges, Mons. le Grand Maistre, et Mons. d'Yvry, qui avoient lettres closes adreçans au Roy d'Angleterre, lesquelles estoient de creance pour eulx trois seulement, partirent de nous, et allerent devant la personne du Roy, et luy presenterent lesd. Lettres, & puis se leverent et retournerent avec nous dont ils estoient partis; Lors le Roy appella son Chancelier, et luy bailla lesd. Lettres pour les ouvrir, lequel les ouvrit et sans regarder dedans les bailla presentement au Roy, et se retray; à donques le Roy leut lesdites Lettres, et quand il les ot leuës les mit sur l'oreiller sur lequel il s'appuyoit sur le dreçoir, et apres appella ses trois freres, son Chancelier, le Duc d'Yorc, le Comte d'Oriceste, l'Archevesque de Canturbery, les Evesques de Duresme et Norebbich tant seulement et parla à eulx asses longuement sans toucher lesd. Lettres, et puis se leverent et se retrahirent chacun en sa place; Adonc il appella lesd. de Vendosme, de Bourges et d'Yvry, et leur dist qu'il avoit veu lesd. Lettres qu'il luy avoient baillée de par son beau cousin de France, et qu'elles portaient creance à eulx trois seulement, et qu'ils luy deïssent la creance. Adoncques luy exposerent et dirent leur creance par la bouche de Mons. de Bourges, en la maniere que ensuit, si comme ledit Mons. de Bourges et autres dessus nommés nous ont dit et rapporté :

This confusion and lack of finish in the form of the *Relation* is doubtless somewhat explained by the letter accompanying it, which draws a picture of the physical and mental discomforts endured on the return trip by a part of the embassy. To this may be added the probable depression of the party in view of the failure of the negotiations, and the certainty of a war for which their country was not prepared. The letter reads as follows :<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Besse, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

Tres-Reverend Pere en Dieu, et mon tres-honoré Seigneur. Pource que je suis passé en la compagnie de Mons. de Braquemont le derenier et que mes chevaux furent moult malmenés et tourmentés en la mer, apres n'out eu aucun repos, et aussi que ie ne eu aucune chose pour payer mon passage au retour, de l'argent qui a esté ordonné également pour tous passer et repasser, et m'a convenu emprunter argent et achater et loïer chevaux, ie n'ay peu venir à Paris plustost. Si ne sçay si vous feriés bien relation avant ma venue à Paris; Et parce combien que ayés en fresche memoire tout, neantmoins ie vous envoie par mon clerc, porteur de ces presentes un abregé de ce que fait avons jusques au jour de nostre partement, duquel jour ie m'en rapporte à vous, et à la response en Latin faicte par l'Arcevesque de Canturbery à la replique faicte par vous en François. Si vous supplie tres humblement de moy excuser de ma demeure jusqu'à demain, que je seray, se Dieu plaist, à Paris. Escript hastivement le 25. jour de Iuillet.

Vostre humble serviteur,  
Gontier Col.

Col begins the *Relation* by stating that the envoys left Paris June 4, reaching Winchester (where Henry V was residing) on Sunday, June 30. They were received by the bishops of Durham and Norwich, the counts of Dorset and Salisbury, "et plusieurs autres," and taken directly to the King, to present their credentials. He then takes up the events of the Winchester meeting day by day, setting down at length all the diplomatic wranglings about Henry's demands as to French possessions, and the dowry of Catherine, also the date of her marriage. The entry touching the Saturday on which took place the last meeting of the envoys and the King, is only partial, as Col does not attempt to describe the closing scene. Judging by other and less discreet historians, in this he showed his diplomatic training, seeing that his report was intended for the Archbishop of Bourges, the prelate who was directly responsible for the break between the envoys and the King; although in view of the latter's feverish preparations for war, it may be doubted whether Henry ever meant them to succeed.<sup>7</sup> Be that as it may, it is interesting to see how nearly the embassy thought it had succeeded in its object according to Col's entry for Saturday, July 6:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Wylie, *Henry V*, p. 491, n. 1; De Flassan, J. B. G. de R., *Histoire générale et raisonnée de la diplomatie française*, Paris, 1811, i, p. 192.

<sup>8</sup> Besse, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-110.



Samedy, 6. jour de Iuillet fusmes envoyés querir, à neuf heures devant disner, pour aller devers le Roy, par ceux qui dessus sont nommés, et qui autresfois nous estoient venus querir, et nous menerent en la chambre d'embas, et là vindrent les Evesque de Duresme et de Norebbich, et parlerent longuement à Mons. l'Archevesque de Bourges, et grand Maistre d'Ostel, et puis allerent à mont devers leur Roy; Et cependant lesd. Archevesque & grand Maistre, nous dirent, qu'ils leur avoient dit, que on vouldist declarer & bailler par escript les protestations que avoient faites Mons. de Bourges, etc. Et on leur avait respondu que la declaration estoit en escript devers eux, et chacun la savoit; et puis avoit dit que on baillast & declarast jour dedans lequel on delivreroit la fille du Roy nostre Seigneur, à leur Seigneur, engeoliée, etc., et la somme de cinq cens cinquante mil escus, et aussi que on delivrerait les Citéz, terres et seigneuries à eux offertes, et que on print une treve à quarante ou cinquante ans, pendant laquelle on feist paix final, et se dedans led. temps paix n'estoit faite ils rendraient reaulment et de faict toutes lesdites villes, chasteaux, et seigneuries à eulx baillées par ce traicté, et de ce bailleroient bonne seurté, et caution souffisante, et que on leur fiançast la fille par paroles de futur, etc., et que tandis que on feroit lesd. treves et autres choses dessusdites, que un Secretaire ou autre de nous alast en France devers le Roy, nostre seigneur, et son Conseil dire cest appointment, etc., et que dedans un mois il eust la responce, et que les autres demeurassent en Angleterre, laquelle chose nous ne voulesmes accorder.

Et apres ces choses, retournerent l'Evesque de Vincestre, et les deux Evesques dessusdits, et dirent, que on fiançast Madame K. et que dedans la saint Michel on la livrast à Calais, engeolées etc. & avec ce la somme de six cens mil francs, etc., et baillast on avec ce dedans le temps la possessions desd. terres, villes et seigneuries à eulx offertes, etc., et preist on les treves generales à cinquante ans, etc.

Ausquels fut respondu que le temps estoit trop court pour fournir les choses dessusdites, etc., et que dedans Noël ou la Saint Andrieu on leur livreroit Madame K. etc., et quatre mil francs, car plutost ne pourrait on finer de si grand somme d'or, combien que en monnoye elle feust preste desia, et conviendrait tout ledit terme pour forger lesd. escus, et faire les joyaux, etc.

Après dirent celx de la partie d'Angleterre, que nous alissions en haut devers le Roy, dire en sa presence ce qu'il luy avoient rapporté et pourparlé, et dit entre nous etc., Et ainsi fut dit, accordé, et accomply, et alasmes, et trouvasmes le Roy en la chambre en haut et aucuns de ses Conseilliers et serviteurs, et son Secretaire, lesquels il fist vuider la chambre, et n'y demoura que luy, lesd. Prelats



et nous; Et lors Mons. l'Archevesque venismes pres de luy à genoux et luy dist ledit Mons. l'Archevesque les choses dessusdites devant les dessus nommés et l'Archevesque de Canturbery; et apres se party de ladite chambre, et nous y demourasmes.

Et apres ces choses, retournerent à nous lesd. Evesque de Duresme et de Norebbich, et nous dirent que les choses estoient en bonne disposition, et que nous feissions bonne chere; Et assés tost apres on nous mena disner, et estoient bien deux heures apres midy.

Venismes disner en la chambre de parement, où le Roy disna, et fit seoir à sa table l'Evesque de Lisieux au bout d'en haut, puis l'Archevesque de Bourges, puis luy; et au bout d'embas le grand Maistre d'Ostel, et le Baron d'Yvry; et à l'autre table Maistre Iean Andry et Gontier, et apres nous plusieurs notables Personnes, Prelats, et autres gens d'Eglise, et à l'autre costé de lad. chambre le Seigneur de Braquemont, Messieurs Charles d'Yvry, et les autres nobles de nostre compagnie, et en disnant nous vint dire le Duc d'Yorc et l'Evesque de Norebbich que nous feissions bon visage, et que tout estoit bien etc., et m'apporta led. Duc à boire en une tasse d'or; apres disner vin et especes; puis alasmes en la chambre où nous aurions esté devant disner, et le Roy demoura en son Conseil moult longuement, et estoit vestu court, et ses esperons chaussés pour chevaucher, etc. Et apres ce vindrent devers nous le Duc d'Yorc, et le Chancelier d'Angleterre, les Evesques de Duresme et de Norebbich, et nous dirent que leur Seigneur estoit d'accord de tout, fors que du terme, mais il vouloit avoir la fille et la somme par nous accordee, c'est assavoir quatre cens mille escus à la Saint Remy, et la possessions des terres, etc. Et nous leur respondismes comme autresfois que c'estoit impossible dedans si brief temps, etc., et ne feust que pour forger si grand somme d'escus et faire les joyaulx, etc., mais à Noël ou a la Saint Andrieu le ferions, etc. Et lors se partirent pour aller dire à leur Seigneur nostre responce, et tenoient fermement que nous estions d'accord, et qu'il ne tenoit que au terme; et apres longtems, qu'il estoit six heures, on nous vint dire, que nous venissions au Roy dire nostre responce, et prendre congié: Et quand nous feusmes venus le trouvasmes assis en la chaere, et toute la sale pleine de gens, d'une part et d'autre, les Prelats d'un costé, ses freres et autres gens de guerre d'autre jusqu'au nombre de plus de mil cinq cens personnes, et y estoient les Ambassadeurs de l'Empereur, du Roy d'Arragon, du Duc de Bourgogne, un Heraut, etc. Et lors feusmes assis sur une fourine devant le Roy: Adonc l'Archevesque de Canturbery commença à parler en Latin, et recita toutes les Ambassades faictes d'une partie et d'autre, depuis que cest Roy fut couronné Roy d'Angleterre, comme il appert par sa proposition qu'il a depuis envoyée par escript avecques certaines Lettres closes adreçans à nous Am-

bassadeurs dessus nommés, et au Roy nostre seigneur, lesquelles lettres nous ne voulusmes recevoir, ne prendre la charge de les apporter au Roy, mais nous en prenismes la coppie.

The end is garbled, and there is a hint at trouble in the last lines of the entry, rather astonishing, coming after the preceding assertions that the negotiations were going smoothly. It may have been a revulsion of feeling caused by this disappointment on seeing the success of his embassy jeopardized when he thought everything favorably under way, that led the Archbishop of Bourges to speak as he did. He had taken exception to several points made by the Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>9</sup> in his speech. But it was only after Henry had again repeated previous demands as to territory,<sup>10</sup> and the dowry of Catherine, ending bluntly with the statement that he was after all the rightful heir to the throne of France, that the crisis came.

The Archbishop of Bourges,<sup>11</sup> according to the diplomatic usages of the times,<sup>12</sup> asked permission to speak, and begged to be allowed to bring to the King's notice the fact that<sup>13</sup> not only was Henry not the rightful heir of the throne of France, but he was not even the rightful heir of the throne of England. Henry's rage may easily be imagined and it is not difficult to understand that he told the envoys "qu'ils s'en allassent, et qu'il les suivroit de près."<sup>14</sup> It is not perhaps to be wondered at, in view of the above, that the French prelate addressed directly to King Henry the firm request "que tu escupres [exculpes?] entierement la response que tu as faicte, sur ton seel et signe manuel." And it is not at all hard to believe that Col sought to avoid compromising himself by refraining from drawing up the compte-rendu of such prickly negotiations.

<sup>9</sup> Erroneously called Archbishop of Winchester in Sir Harry Nicolas' *History of the Battle of Agincourt*, London, 1832, p. 28.

<sup>10</sup> Monstrelet, iii, 73:

Les duches d'Acquitaine, de Normendie, d'Anjou et de Touraine, les contez de Poictou du Mans et de Ponthieu et toutes les autres choses jadis appartenans au roys d'Angleterre ses predecesseurs heritablements.

<sup>11</sup> Hivier de Beauvoir, *Guillaume de Boisratier* in *Société des Antiquités du Centre*, 1867, pp. 87-128.

<sup>12</sup> Monstrelet, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 74.

<sup>13</sup> Juvenal des Ursins, *op. cit.*, p. 505; Thomas of Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, London, 1863-64, vol. ii, p. 305; H. Nicolas, *History of the Battle of Agincourt*, 25-31; Th. Goodwin, *History of the Reign of Henry V*, 56-61. Bibliography, Wylie, *Henry V*, vol. i, p. 490.

<sup>14</sup> Juvenal des Ursins, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

Before leaving the *Relation* of Col, we should take account of an interesting question raised by Mirot in the note in which he gives a résumé of the embassy.<sup>15</sup> He says:<sup>16</sup> "Une fort curieuse relation de cette ambassade due à Gontier Col et se rapprochant beaucoup du récit du Religieux de St. Denis nous a été conservé dans Besse," etc. Since Col was a member of the embassy and the above mentioned *Relation* was written before the 25th of July, it would seem likely that the Religieux was using his old methods, and had seen Col's material before writing his description of Winchester week. The Religieux seems to use the *Relation* much in the same general way that he did the *Journal*. The description of the landing in England, and the events of Sunday and Monday, are given at much greater length in the *Cronica*.<sup>17</sup>

Whatever the reasons, the French party did not return all together, the two secretaries, Gontier Col and Jehan Andrieu, apparently having crossed the channel after the Archbishop of Bourges.<sup>18</sup> With the two secretaries went J. Fusoris,<sup>19</sup> later tried for treason, he having been accused of furnishing information about the political state of affairs in France to the Bishop of Norwich. The minutes of the trial<sup>20</sup> throw light on Winchester week, but not very much on Col, who was not called upon to testify, as was Jehan Andrieu, the other secretary of the King attached to the embassy, and who said that neither he nor Col thought of Fusoris as anything but loyal.<sup>21</sup>

It is not possible to tell whether Col knew Fusoris well. The only reference that the accused makes to Col, mentions his being

<sup>15</sup> *Mémoires de la Société de Paris et de l'Île de France*, vol. xxvii (1900), p. 137, note 7.

<sup>16</sup> Unless the reader wishes to return to the untenable suggestion that identified Col with the Religieux de St. Denis—a theory that the mention of Col's laical status would refute. (Froissart, vol. 13, p. 323.)

<sup>17</sup> Besse, *op. cit.*, 95-98; Religieux de St. Denis, *op. cit.*, vol. v, 516-518.

<sup>18</sup> Carte, *Rolls*, vol. ii, p. 222:

Consimiles literas de salvo conductu habent subscripti, videlicet, Episcopus Lexoviensis, Comes Vindocinensis, Karolus Dominus de Yvriaco, Braquetus Dominus de Braquemont, Miles, Magister Johannes Andre & Magister Gonterus Coll.

Teste Rege apud Westminster 28, Junii.

<sup>19</sup> Probably the same mentioned in Ehrle, *Archiv für Literatur und kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Sechster Band, 1892, pp. 219-220; Bulaeus, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. v, p. 91.

<sup>20</sup> *Mémoires de la Société de Paris et de l'Île de France*, vol. xxvii (1900), pp. 137 sqq. Ed. by Mirot.

<sup>21</sup> Mirot, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

invited to dinner by the Bishop of Norwich and meeting Col there.<sup>22</sup> This was when that prelate was in Paris on the English embassy<sup>23</sup> which immediately preceded that of the Archbishop of Bourges to Winchester. The evidence against Fusoris was of a more or less circumstantial nature, aggravated by his well-known Burgundian leanings, and it was on those grounds that the Prior of the Célestins in Paris refused to entrust to him letters (to monks of his order in England) that Fusoris had offered to deliver for him, but gave them to Gontier Col instead.<sup>24</sup> It would seem as though the Prior scarcely needed any such reason to avoid giving these letters in the charge of a more or less itinerant astrologer, going to England as a hanger-on of the embassy, ostensibly to attempt to collect a bad debt from a prelate of the church, when they could be carried by one of the secretaries of the expedition. Although there is no proof of it, it is highly probable that the Prior knew Col personally, since the Confrérie of the notaries and secretaries of the King met in the buildings of the Célestins in Paris.<sup>25</sup>

#### VIII.—LAST YEARS AND DEATH

Col returned to Paris about the 25th of July, 1415.<sup>1</sup> The battle of Agincourt took place in the following October, and diplomacy was at a standstill until Emperor Sigismund's visit to Paris in the following Spring. That ruler was much preoccupied by the Schism, which still prevailed, and saw in a union of French and English influences a means of ending it. He came to Paris with the intention of bringing about a Franco-English *rapprochement*, and after seeing the King and the dukes, he left for England, accompanied by French envoys. A meeting was arranged between the contending parties at Beauvais (September 9, 1416), to which Col went in his official capacity.<sup>2</sup> The envoys did nothing beyond calling for another conference not later than the 16th of August—a failure for which the Emperor (now in England and a guest of Henry V) placed the

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>23</sup> Mirot, *Les Ambassades Anglaises pendant la guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris, 1900), p. 74.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222.

<sup>25</sup> E. Raunié, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 309, and note 1.

<sup>1</sup> Besse, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–111.

<sup>2</sup> Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, Hachette, 1911, vol. iv, p. 372; Rymer, vol. 9, p. 366; Religieux de St. Denis, vol. 6, pp. 26–28; Carte, Rolles, ii, pp. 230–231.



responsibility upon the French, whom he accused of being devoid of a conciliatory spirit.<sup>3</sup>

The second meeting was prepared for in both countries; England sent envoys, and for the French ambassadors<sup>4</sup> were prepared safe-conducts in which Col's name appeared. Very little was done besides signing a short truce, for Henry, who had come over to his French possessions with Sigismund for the sole purpose of meeting the Duke of Burgundy, wanted to get the French "négo-ciateurs" out of the way—not for his own sake, apparently, but for that of the Duke of Burgundy, who became his secret ally as a result of this meeting.<sup>5</sup>

In spite of this understanding with the Duke of Burgundy, negotiations continued with France. The death of the Dauphin prevented a meeting, for which the necessary state papers are dated April, 1417, but which was finally arranged for later in the year.<sup>6</sup> Col went on this embassy, which proved to be fruitless,<sup>7</sup> altho the envoys did not return home from the Barneville conference until December 21.

This is the last diplomatic mission with which I have been able to connect Col's name. He may have gone with the French envoys that met the Burgundians during Easter week, 1418, to settle, if possible, party strife in France, but the name of their secretary is not known.<sup>8</sup> As will be recalled, the French and Burgundian plenipotentiaries had come to an agreement, and Paris was wild with joy at the prospect of peace. When the results were read to the King he inclined in their favor, but the Count of Armagnac presented the most violent opposition to their acceptance,<sup>9</sup> and this in the teeth of the Dauphin's defense thereof. This held up all the proceedings of

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, p. 377 seq. Religieux de St. Denis, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 34 (Col's name not mentioned).

<sup>4</sup> Dated August 14, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 377, and good until 14th of September; later extended until the 21st, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 386.

<sup>5</sup> Monstrelet, vol. 3, pp. 162-164; Beaucourt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 267 seq.; J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, Oxford, 1892, vol. i, pp. 240-241.

<sup>6</sup> Safe conducts, September 24, 1417, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 494; Credentials October 2, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 498; Extension of passports, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 505.

<sup>7</sup> Religieux de St. Denis, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 109; Rymer, *op. cit.*, vol. 9, pp. 517, 537; Beaucourt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, 275, 278.

<sup>8</sup> Beaucourt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 79, n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Monstrelet, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 257. Religieux de St. Denis, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, pp. 228-230.



ratification, and as the news transpired, there was much discontent, the more so as the Armagnacs were arousing general antagonism by their exactions and brutality. The Duke of Burgundy saw his opportunity and seized it. By clever manipulation of certain disaffected Parisians, a party of Burgundians were admitted by night into Paris (May 28–29, 1418).<sup>10</sup> The result was a popular uprising culminating in the so-called Armagnac Massacres, in which so many men of prominence were killed,<sup>11</sup> and in which there are excellent reasons to believe that Col lost his life. Among these reasons may be stated, first, the purely negative one that his name is not in the list of burgesses who took the oath of allegiance to the Duke of Burgundy in the month of August, 1418.<sup>12</sup> A more conclusive one is presented in Sauval's *Antiquités de la ville de Paris*,<sup>13</sup> which runs as follows, under the entry "Du compte de confiscations de Paris, depuis le vingtième décembre 1423, jusqu'à la St. Jean, 1427":

Maison qui fut à M. Gontier Col, occis à Paris, scise rue vielle du Temple, tenant à la ruelle au roi de Sicile, laquelle Jean Spifame ecuyer dit lui appartenir à cause de sa femme, fille dudit M<sup>e</sup> Gontier.<sup>14</sup>

Tho this is not altogether decisive of the point, it seems warranted, in view of the confusion existing in the probation of wills at this time (especially for those who were on the losing side politically),<sup>15</sup> to accept the theory advanced by M. Antoine Thomas, that Col died at the same time as his friend Jehan de Monstereul, to wit, in the course of the Armagnac Massacres of 1418.

<sup>10</sup> Monstrelet, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 259–266. Religieux de St. Denis, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, pp. 230–236.

<sup>11</sup> Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de Charles VII, roi de France*, Paris, 1862, pp. 104, 112. Ramsey, *Lancaster and York*, vol. i, p. 260, for bibliography.

<sup>12</sup> Le Roux de Lincy et Tisserand, *Paris et ses Historiens*, p. 371.

<sup>13</sup> Vol. iii, p. 304.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. difficulties experienced by daughter of Nicolas de l'Espoisse, greffier du Parlement (1420). Her husband being in the Dauphin's army, her share in her father's estate was confiscated and she had to take legal steps to recover it. See *Testaments enregistrés au Parlement de Paris sous Charles VI* (p. 605), par A. Tuetey.

<sup>15</sup> A. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

## PART II

### LITERARY ANTIPATHIES AND PERSONAL SYMPATHIES

#### I.—GONTIER COL AND THE QUARREL OF THE *Roman de la Rose*

Like the political situation, the literary conditions were in a good deal of confusion at the end of the fourteenth century. The chief literary characteristic of that period was the gradual decay and disappearance of literary *genres* much in vogue in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to wit, the *chansons de gestes*, the romances, the animal stories. The aspect of the century is set forth by Paulin Paris in this way: "Le XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle réclame le principal honneur dans les grandes compositions historiques, dans les premières traductions en prose des auteurs grecs et latins, dans les premières études de philosophie morale, et économie politique."<sup>1</sup> The deduction is that this is an epoch of "idéologues," more interesting for an intellectual history than for a purely literary one. The ideas stirring men's minds were more absorbing to them than questions of form and *genre*.

It is not my intention to discuss the subject of France's indebtedness to Petrarch nor the rôle he played in bringing in the beginnings of the Renaissance.<sup>2</sup> Petrarch's stay in Vacluse, the efforts of Jean le Bon to draw him to court, his mission to Paris, his friendship with Philippe de Vitry, whom he considered the only poet France had at that time, are sufficiently known.<sup>3</sup> A single point may be noted here. It was Petrarch's friend Berçuire<sup>4</sup> whose translations from the Latin are the first productions to show some glimmerings of the Humanistic spirit in France.<sup>5</sup> In spite of Berçuire's medieval cast of mind, there is in his works an attempt to keep within sight of the text he is translating, rather than to use it wholly as a

<sup>1</sup> *Cabinet Historique*, vol. 8 (1862), p. 102 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>3</sup> P. Paris, *Manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du roi*, vol. iii, pp. 180-181.

<sup>4</sup> A. Thomas, *Les Lettres à la Cour de Rome*, 1884; L. Pannier, *Notice biographique sur le bénédictin Pierre Berçuire; Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, No. 33 (1872), p. 337.

<sup>5</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 27 février, 1896, p. 682.

means of edification, exemplified, for instance, by the interpretation the Middle Ages gave to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.

The output of the group of translators of Charles V to which Berçuire belonged, is large, and in many cases smacks of the classroom exercise. Yet their work is more than this; its originality consists in the interest these translators took in the Latin texts in their entirety. They must of necessity have acquired a point of view different from that held by those clerics who contented themselves with a knowledge of antiquity drawn from collections of moral sayings and *exempla*. Moreover, it is the first time in centuries that the human mind is taking on an edge from trituration with a purely lay subject, without any relation to theology. This is also true, for example, of Nicolas Oresme's<sup>6</sup> *Traité des Monnaies*, the first scientific treatise based on pure reason. It is the beginning of the laïcisation of learning and the intellectual life, and it may be questioned whether the Schism did not play a part in this, turning men's minds aside from a subject so painful as the dissensions of Christendom to seek for solace in matters purely secular. These conditions go to show that men were busied pulling down preconceived ideas and ideals by which they had been living for generations; and this explains the polemics and the satirical nature of a great deal of the literary activity of the day; an excellent example of which is the "Quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose*," which took place in 1401. The basic considerations underlying the quarrel were not new. The *fabliaux*, those "revues" of the day, are full of satire against women;<sup>7</sup> but the chivalric convention in literature was at that time too strong to allow anything so foreign to it to find expression in the more dignified literary *genres*. In the fourteenth century, with the rise of the *bourgeoisie*, that chivalric convention began to show signs of strain. It is Lanson who says:<sup>8</sup> "Une des plus authentiques marques de bourgeoisie dans une œuvre littéraire, c'est l'effacement ou l'abaissement de la femme." That the bourgeois undercurrent of scorn for women should come to the surface in an epoch dominated by their spirit, is to have been expected. That there should be so much of it, however, is due pos-

<sup>6</sup> *Traité de la Première Invention des Monnaies*, ed. Wolowski, Paris, 1864.

<sup>7</sup> For literature against women previous to the *Roman de la Rose*, see Piaget, *Martin Le Franc*, pp. 28-31; also Meyer, *Rom.* vi, p. 499.

<sup>8</sup> *Histoire de la littérature française*, p. 128.

sibly to a reason of a political (or sociological) nature. The *bourgeois* thinker saw in courtly love an aspect of the feudal system that could not but antagonize him. The *courtois* attitude towards women was so thoroughly enmeshed in chivalry that terms of fief-holding were used in the contemporary love-poetry. Thus the uprising of literature against women may well be an attack on an important phase of chivalry, i. e., on the relations of the knight to his lady-love. Accordingly, it should not cause surprise to see Jehan de Monstereul and Gontier Col, with the latter's brother Pierre, take the stand they did in favor of the work of a man whom they admired, namely, Jehan de Meung. Nor should it occasion surprise to find Christine de Pisan opposing a work that combined the satirical *fabliau* attitude towards women with the critical one of the mediaeval monks—Christine, author of a formal protest against the rising tide of literature against women, viz., the *Epître au dieu d'amour*,<sup>9</sup> a work which, as has been pointed out, led indirectly to the famous quarrel.<sup>10</sup>

The outlines of the quarrel are fairly well known. The immediate cause is said to have been a conversation between Jehan de Monstereul, Christine de Pisan, and an unknown (Gerson?), on the merits of the *Roman de la Rose*.<sup>11</sup> Jehan de Monstereul, Col's friend, was evidently not satisfied with the outcome of the discussion, for he did not let the matter rest, but wrote to his interlocutors to emphasize his points.<sup>12</sup> His letter, the first epistle in the quarrel,<sup>13</sup> is lost, and we do not know what were his original arguments in favor of the *Rose*. In Christine's answer to it,<sup>14</sup> the objections

<sup>9</sup> Roy, *Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, vol. ii, p. 29.

<sup>10</sup> Roy, vol. ii, p. iv.

<sup>11</sup> Roy, vol. ii, pp. iv-v; Piaget, *Chronologie*, p. 117 (1400-1401).

<sup>12</sup> Piaget, *Chronologie*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>13</sup> A. Piaget, *Chronologie des Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose*, in *Études Romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris*, p. 116, says: "Je ne m'occupe pas ici des lettres latines de Jean de Monstereul publiées dans le tome II de l'Amplissima Collectio de don Martene, ou encore inédites." Petit de Julleville (*Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 4 juin, 1896) places three undated Latin letters of Jehan de Monstereul (A. C., vol. ii, Col. 1419, 1421, 1422) at this stage of the discussion, in which the Prévôt de Lille expresses his admiration for Jehan de Meung and his works. C. F. Ward, *The Epistles on the Romance of the Rose and Other Documents in the Debate*, Chicago, 1911, reprints the letters without dating them.

<sup>14</sup> Roy, vol. ii, p. v, n. 1; Piaget, p. 117 (1401).



formulated are as follows: (1) Coarseness of vocabulary;<sup>15</sup> (2) Slurs cast on the married state;<sup>16</sup> (3) Incitation to loose living;<sup>17</sup> (4) Satire on women.<sup>18</sup> She sums up her opinion of the evil effects of the *Roman* as follows (*ibid.*, p. 27, ll. 313-327):

Mais je treuve, comme il me semble, ces dictes choses et assez d'autres considerees, que mieulx lui affiert, enseuelissement de feu que couronne de lorier, nononbstant que le clamez miroir de bien viure, exemple de tous estaz de soy politiquement gouuerne et viure religieusement et sagement. Mais au contraire (sauue vostre grace) je dis que c'est exortacion de vice, confortant vie dissolue, doctrine pleine de deceuance, voye de dampnacion, diffameur publique, cause de souspeçon et mescreandise, honte de pluseurs personnes, et puet estre d'erreur.

At this point Col steps in.<sup>19</sup> He writes to the *prudent honnourée et sauent damoisellé Christine*, asking for a copy of the letter "que tu as nouvellement escript par maniere de invection aucunement contre ce que mon maistre enseigneur et familier feu maistre Jean de Meung . . . fist et compila ou livre de la Rose."<sup>20</sup> At the same time he sends her another of Jehan de Meung's works, *Le Trésor*, and in this connection it is interesting to quote what Col had to say on the subject of the manuscript of the work that he sent her, for his criticism casts an interesting light on the inaccuracy of contemporary texts (*ibid.*, p. 30):

lequel est incorrect par faulte d'escripuain, qui pas ne l'entendi comme il y pert, et n'ay eu espace ne loisir de le veoir ne corriger au long pour la haste et ardeur que j'ay de veoir ton dessusdit œuvre, et mesmement qu'il est a supposer que bien sçaras les fautes de l'escripuain en ceste compilation corriger et entendre.

On receiving a copy of Christine's letter, he writes again,<sup>21</sup> taking her to task for her presumption towards that "tresexcellent et irreprehensible docteur en sainte divine escripture . . . que si horriblement oses et presumes corriger et reprehendre."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Ward, pp. 18-21.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20, ll. 26-29.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21, lines 143-159; p. 27, lines 316-322.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25.

<sup>19</sup> Roy, vol. ii, p. vi, September 13, 1401; Piaget, p. 118.

<sup>20</sup> Ward, p. 29.

<sup>21</sup> Roy, vol. ii, p. vi; Piaget, p. 118. September 15, 1401.

<sup>22</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 31.



In Col's two letters,<sup>23</sup> he endeavors to make Christine see what he considers the errors of her ways. Christine's reply,<sup>24</sup> far from seizing the opportunity offered her by Col for confession and avoidance, reiterates emphatically what she has before said on the point:<sup>25</sup>

je dis derechief et replique et triplique tant de fois comme tu voudras que le dit intitulé Romant de la Rose, nonobstant y ait de bonnes choses, . . . mais pour ce que nature humaine est plus descendent au mal, je dis qu'il puet estre cause de mauvaïse et perverse exortacion en tresabominables meurs, confortant vie dissolue, doctrine pleine de decevance, voie de dampnacion, diffameur publique cause de souspeçon et mescreandise et honte de pluseurs personnes et puet estre d'erreur; et tres deshonneste lecture en pluseurs pars. (In part identical with extract on page 48.)

Nor does she stop there, but sends all the documents in the case, with an appeal, to Isabeau de Bavière, Queen of France, and Guillaume de Tignonville, *prévôt* de Paris.<sup>26</sup> There is no record of any answer made by those dignitaries to Christine's appeal, but at any rate there was a lull in the quarrel until May, 1402,<sup>27</sup> when there appeared Gerson's *Tractatus contra Romantium de Rosa*, which is cast in the allegorical form, popular at that time. He assails the *Roman* under eight headings, among which are three of Christine's points of arraignment.<sup>28</sup> To these the most important counts that he adds are Jehan de Meung's scant respect for sacred things,<sup>29</sup> his theory concernig Paradise, and his attitude towards young men who enter the Church.<sup>30</sup> Gerson's position is of course easily explained in view of Jean de Meung's abundant satire on the Church.

This time Col did not take up the cudgels for the *Roman de la Rose*, but apparently yielded his place in the quarrel to his brother, the Canon Pierre Col,<sup>31</sup> who wrote a fiery defense of Jehan de

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>24</sup> Ward, pp. 32-33; Piaget, p. 118.

<sup>25</sup> Ward, p. 33.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-37; Roy, vol. ii, p. vii, gives date as the day before Chandeleur, 1401 (1 February, 1402, new style); Piaget, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>27</sup> Roy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. iii; Piaget, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>28</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>30</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>31</sup> Ward, pp. 56-76; A. Piaget, *Martin Le Franc*, p. 70; A. Piaget, *Chronologie des Epistres*, p. 119.

His two letters to Christine, the second only a fragment, are in Paris

Meung, and sent copies of it to Christine and Gerson. In this epistle the Canon tries to make Christine de Pisan appear a prude in her objections to the use of certain concrete physiological terms, which attitude on her part, in view of the contemporary state of refinement on such questions, makes of her a "Précieuse d'avant la lettre."<sup>32</sup> *Fol amoureux's* stories in questionable taste he explains by saying that Jehan de Meung's great art was to make his characters speak in accordance with their rôle, and that what a *Fol amoureux* said must not be charged to the author's account.<sup>33</sup>

Pierre Col is careful not to attack Gerson quite so openly, but in much more measured tones<sup>34</sup> he answers some of that worthy Churchman's strictures. Both of his correspondents make rejoinder: Gerson<sup>35</sup> sets forth the point of view of the Church as stated by St. Augustine,<sup>36</sup> and discusses the somewhat lax sex-morality tolerated by the Canon.<sup>37</sup> He showed his distaste for the whole matter so clearly that it is not to be wondered at that Pierre Col made no attempt to answer him. Christine's reply<sup>38</sup> is long and prolix, a fact of which she is evidently quite aware; and she makes it clear that the controversy is now closed as far as she is concerned.<sup>39</sup> One might think that Canon Col would have had enough. Not so. That doughty champion began a counter-rejoinder to Christine<sup>40</sup>—at least began, for whether he finished it we do not know, since only a fragment of it still survives.

in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Fr. 1563, fol. 185 (b) (for XI) and fol. 199 (Piaget) in Ward, p. 10.

Fragments of Pierre Col's first letter may be found in the Tours library, to judge by the following entry in the *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, tome xxxvii, Tours, p. 207, No. 28. Jacques Publicius, *Traité de l'art épistolaire*, iii, au folio 230v° et 231, on lit plusieurs lettres ou fragments de lettres qui ont été recueillis pour servir de modèles. 8° Formule épistolaire empruntée à la correspondance de Christine de Pisan et Pierre Col, fol. 231v° . . . "Et de ton éloquence mélodieuse je désire," etc.

<sup>32</sup> Petit de Julleville, *La Querelle à propos du Roman de la Rose au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* in *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 4 juin, 1896, p. 544.

<sup>33</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>34</sup> Ward, p. 69.

<sup>35</sup> Ward, pp. 77-82, a reprint from the Antwerp edition of Gerson's works (1706), vol. iii, col. 293.

<sup>36</sup> Ward, p. 78.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 83-111. (October 2, 1402.)

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>40</sup> Piaget, p. 120, note 1, p. 82.

In treating the subject-matter of Christine de Pisan's most important epistle, stress is generally laid on her championship of her sex, so vigorously attacked by Jehan de Meung. The point must not be missed that she also objects to his coarseness of speech, and to his advocacy of an unrestricted "moral code." Petit de Julleville sums up the matter thus:<sup>41</sup>

Mais il reste à Christine le mérite d'avoir discerné le caractère intime du roman de Jean de Meung, qui est dans la tendance de l'auteur à réhabiliter la nature humaine, libre et affranchie de toutes les lois et de toutes les conventions sociales. Le roman de la Rose renferme les premiers germes d'une renaissance naturaliste dirigée contre la discipline austère et stricte du Christianisme. C'est ce que les savants adversaires de Christine ne voyaient pas ou peut-être feignaient de ne pas voir.

The last phrase is a telling one. Freedom from moral restraint in matters of sex is one of the dominant traits of the Renaissance, and this point of view permeates the second part of the *Roman*. It is at least worth while to note that the two men who were most ardent in the defense of the *Roman de la Rose* were: the best known Humanist in France, Jehan de Monstereul, and the man whom he called his "praeceptor," Gontier Col. It also deserves to be noted that Col waxes eloquent against Christine not only for defending woman, but for talking about things of which he says that she knows nothing and for having the temerity to raise her voice when the great Jehan de Meung had already spoken.<sup>42</sup> All

<sup>41</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la littérature et de la langue française*, ii, p. 361-362.

<sup>42</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 29, "Et comme dient les relateurs ou refferendaires de ceste chose, t'efforces et estudies de le reprene et chargier de faultes en ta dicte oeuvre nouuelle, laquelle chose me vient a grant admiracion et merueille inextimable, et ad ce non croire me meut l'experience et exercite de toy d'auoir sceu, leu et entendu lui ou dit liure, et en ses autres fais en françois, et autres pluseurs et divers docteurs, auteurs, et poetes . . . pour toy donner matiere de plus escripre contre lui, se bon te semble, ou a tes (fol. 88 verso a) satalices [*i. e.*, satellites], qui en ce fait t'ont boutee, pour ce que touchier n'y osoient ou ne sauoient, mais de toy veulent faire chappe a pluye; pour dire que plus y sauroient que une femme et plus reprimer la renommee (indeficient entre les mortelz), d'un tel homme . . ."; p. 31: ". . . t'ay premierement par une mienne lettre, que auant yer t'enuoyay, exortee, auisee, et prie, de toy corriger et amender de l'erreur manifeste, folie ou demenance trop grant a toy venue par presompcion ou outrecuidance et comme femme passionnee en ceste matiere—ne te desplaise se ie dy voir."

See also Pierre Col's letter, Ward, p. 65.

this would tend to show that Gontier Col and Monstereul took exception to her attitude on the question of "les mœurs" as well as on that of "la solidarité féminine." They saw the power of the Church loosening on certain matters of conduct, only to have substituted for ecclesiastical strictures social regulations that imposed the same restraints; it was the "Chambre Bleue" casting its shadow before. These are not the motives that explain the Humanists' defense of the works of Jehan de Meung, whom Col admires so highly, and calls, as we have seen above, "mon maistre, enseigneur & familier feu Maistre Jehan de Meun."<sup>43</sup> Their interest in his independence of outlook and lack of subservience to the established order of things is well known.<sup>44</sup> They were intellectual pioneers on certain lines, just as he was, and that undoubtedly was for them the important point in common.

Another aspect of the Quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose* that ought not to be lost sight of, is that it is the first French literary quarrel—a departure from the theological quarrels indulged in by the men in orders, who were of course the learned class of the Middle Ages. The presence of a woman in such a quarrel is also a distinct innovation. The subject-matter itself was not entirely new. Reference has already been made to the "*fabliau* attitude" towards women all thru the Middle Ages, and there were undeniably a certain number of literary *lieux-communs* in the quarrel. Canon Pierre Col's position, for instance, seems to me little else than a variant of that of the mediaeval monk of a Rabelaisian cast of mind who believed in calling a spade a spade and was quite oblivious to aesthetic preoccupations as well as to those ethical considerations that stirred Christine.

Petit de Julleville<sup>45</sup> does not consider the quarrel a purely literary one, but states that it was "aussi et surtout une querelle morale et religieuse." This is due to the rôle played in it by Gerson, whose attitude in the matter is wholly clerical, and whose main interest was not in the phase that is significant for us, viz., the fact that it is a link in the series of works for and against women in France, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Gerson's intervention on

<sup>43</sup> Ward, p. 29.

<sup>44</sup> Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, vol. iv, p. 405.

<sup>45</sup> *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, June 4, 1896, p. 540.



Christine de Pisan's side ended the quarrel for the time being, but the fifteenth century is full of works written from the point of view championed by Gontier Col, and some of the most trenchant tirades against women date from this period.<sup>46</sup> The quarrel reached its full development in the sixteenth century with François Rabelais,<sup>47</sup> the most ardent and skilful writer against women of them all. Col gives but a faint foretaste of the doughty author of the "Tiers livre de *Pantagruel*," albeit an ardent partisan of the ideas on women that they both shared in common.

So this oldest of literary quarrels in France not only has a certain religious tinge derived from Gerson's rôle in it, but it is somewhat prophetic in its defence, by men of standing and reputation and who were deeply interested in Humanism, of the extreme individualistic moral code of the Renaissance. Nor is this all, for it also is a forerunner (less far-reaching in scope, it is true, although similar as to subject-matter) of the "querelle des femmes" which belongs to the history of the literary development of the Greater Renaissance.

## II.—GONTIER COL A MEMBER OF THE "COUR AMOUREUSE"

In the light of the foregoing, it is rather astonishing to find Col's name on the roster of the famous "Cour Amoureuse,"<sup>1</sup> founded in 1401 (14 février, 1400 v. s.), that much discussed organization which at one time was thought to be an "association voluptueuse"<sup>2</sup> reflecting Isabeau de Bavière's loose moral code. Jehan de Monstereul and Gontier Col both belonged to it, although one section of the charter expressly covers Col's attitude in the "Querelle." I refer to the following "item," which I will quote in full.<sup>3</sup>

Item, pour ce que la hautesse d'amourz est inconprenable et que tous nobles et autres, dignes d'estre amoureux, doivent parer

<sup>46</sup> A. Lefranc, *Le Tiers livre du Pantagruel et la querelle des femmes* in *Revue des Études Rabelaisiennes*, 1904 (1<sup>re</sup> Fasc.), p. 5 seq.

<sup>47</sup> Lefranc, *op. cit.*, 1904 (3<sup>re</sup> Fasc.), pp. 102-109.

<sup>1</sup> A. Piaget, *La Cour Amoureuse de Charles VI, Romania*, xx, p. 429.

<sup>2</sup> Piaget, *op. cit.*, *Romania*, xx, p. 419.

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 1886 (No. 12), *La charte de la Cour d'Amour de l'année 1401*, par Ch. Potvin, p. 213.



leurs cueurs de vertus et gracieusetez chascun à son pooir pour parvenir à bonne renommée; d'autrepart, comme dit est que nostre amoureuse court et seignourie est principamment fondée sur les deux vertus d'umilité et léauté, à l'onneur, loenge et recommandacion de toutes dames et damoiselles; Nous, par meure et très grande déliberation, avons ordonné et par ces présentes ordonnons à tous noz amoureux subgès, de quelconques puissance, seignourie, auctorité ou estat qu'ilz soient, sans aucun excepter, qu'ilz ne facent ou par autre facent faire dittierz, complaints, rondeaux, virelays, balades, lays ou autres quelconques façon et taille de réthorique, rimée ou en proze, au deshonneur, reproche, amenrissement ou blame de dame ou dames damoiselles, ou damoiselles, ensemble quelconques femmes, religieuses ou autres, trespasées ou vivans, pour quelconques cause que ce soit, tant soit griève dolereuse ou desplaisant.

This also holds good for "Prince, seigneur, prélat, baron, chevalier, escuier, autre notable homme, quelqu'il soit, puis qu'il sera subget de la retenue de nostre amoureuse court," etc.<sup>4</sup>

The penalty of such infractions is as follows:

Tout ce que dit est sur peine de effacier les armes de tel malheureux délinquant qui telz libelles diffamatoires aroit fait en sa personne ou fait faire par autres, 1 ou plusieurs. Et après icelles ses armes ainsy effaciées, on feroit paindre son escu de couleur de cendre, comme homme infâme, ennemy d'onneur et mort au monde, pour sa mauvaistié et venimeux corage estre apparant aux véans, tant en son vivant comme après ses jours. Et nientmoins, son nom et seurnom demorroient escripz sur icelluy son escu, paint de couleur de cendres, affin que la gloire de sa renommée apparust aux regardans estre estainte et mauditte généramment par toutes terres.

Alain Chartier<sup>5</sup> was expelled from the "Cour Amoureuse" for writing the *Belle Dame sans Merci*, which was distinctly not in accordance with the spirit of the above-mentioned "item." Why Col and Monstereul did not suffer a similar fate is hard to divine. One explanation might be that they were not affiliated with the *Cour Amoureuse* at the time of the Quarrel, a not impossible theory, for Col and Monstereul were not members of the *Cour* when it was founded, their names appearing on a separate (undated) list of seven members who, as A. Piaget thinks, probably took the place of deceased *ministres*. In reprinting the list of members of the *Cour*

<sup>4</sup> Potvin, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

<sup>5</sup> A. Piaget, *Un manuscrit de la Cour Amoureuse de Charles VI, Romania*, xxxi, p. 601.

*Amoureuse* from the manuscript B. N. No. 5233 (*Romania*, xx, pp. 424-445; xxi, pp. 597-598), M. Piaget draws attention to the fact that all the names of those who were connected with the organization appear here, altho the chronology is somewhat haphazard. For instance, original members are given titles that they did not bear until many years after (viz., 1401), and no note was made of the death of members, save in two cases; internal evidence leads Piaget to determine the date as "1416 vraisemblablement."

Moreover, it seems highly probable that if Col and Monstereul had been members of the *Cour* at the time of their Quarrel with Christine, she would have remarked upon this fact. It may even be possible that their adhesion to the *Cour* was a result of the Quarrel. Christine's appeal to the Queen and to Tignonville may have caused a certain tension between them and some of their friends (Gerson, for instance), and they may have desired to give an earnest of their present indifference to the woman question by becoming members of such an association as the *Cour Amoureuse*. This is pure hypothesis, and one really does not have to go so far partly to explain the presence of these two Humanists and littérateurs in the *Cour*, altho the question has been raised concerning their presence in that *Cour*,<sup>6</sup> for it must not be forgotten that it was not merely an organization complimentary to women. It had a literary side, as the charter shows. It was founded through the initiative of the Duke of Burgundy and Louis of Bourbonnois,<sup>7</sup> and under the auspices of the King, to help pass the time more quickly during an epidemic.<sup>8</sup> The literary side of the *Cour* was worked out with a good deal of care. The twenty-four *ministres* of the *Cour d'amour* must have "experte congnoissance en la science de rhetorique,"<sup>9</sup> and they

<sup>6</sup> Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 520; Piaget, *Rom.*, xx, p. 447.

<sup>7</sup> Potvin, *op. cit.*, p. 202:

"Se soient volontairement disposez de cordialment requerir au roy nostre souverain Seigneur Charles, filz de Charles roy de France, sixieme de ce nom, en ceste desplaisant et contraire pestilence de épidimie présentement courant en ce très chrestien royaume, que pour passer partie du tempz plus gracieusement et affin de trouver esviel de nouvelle joye il ly pleust ordonner et créer en son royal hostel I prince de la cour d'amours, seigneurissant sur les subgès de retenue d'icelle amoureuse cour. . . ."

<sup>8</sup> Imitation of the Decameron?

<sup>9</sup> Potvin, p. 203.

"seront tenus de faire balade a chascun puy et de l'apporter en personne eulx estans en santé et en la ville,"<sup>10</sup> etc. A refrain is given out for each *puy* as a theme for the *balades*,<sup>11</sup> and the huissier who is on duty that day is given "4 sous parisis avec ce pour enregistrer les balades de son puy & les nons et seurnons des factistes d'icelles." The paper on which the *balades* were written was furnished by the *Cour*. The day they planned to celebrate regularly was that of "Monseigneur Saint Valentin, XIII<sup>e</sup> de février prochain venant, que les petis oiseles recommencent leurs très dous chans, sentans la nouvelleté du gracieux printempz."<sup>12</sup> From the charter may be deduced that this was done for the first 14th of February at any rate. They were to begin the day with a mass<sup>13</sup> at eight o'clock, at the Church of Saint Katherine "du val des escolierz,"<sup>14</sup> which was to be attended by the twenty-four ministers, and all those who had written *balades* for that day. Later, the charter of the *Cour Amoureuse* was to be read in public "au lieu et à l'heure que on ordonnera," in the presence of "tous noz amoureux subgès de retenue, & ainsy à tel jour, d'an en an." It was their "founder's day," and the members of the *Cour* were expected to attend, under pain of certain penalties,<sup>15</sup> "pour venir diner en joieuse récréacion et amoureuse conversation, au lieu où ordonné sera par noz commis à ce faire." On that day, all the "amoureux subgès de retenue, factistes et réthoriciens" were held to write a *balade amoureuse* on a refrain of their own choosing, and to read it in the assembly; after which the *balades* were to be sealed by the "contreseel de notre amoureuse court." They were then taken to the "dames telles que on avizera pour les jugier à leur noble avis et bonne discrécion, lesquelles dames, de leur grace et hautesse, donront deux vergettes d'or, pour couronne et chapel, aux mieux faisans de ce jour, et puis les nous renvoieront." If any of these *balades* chosen by the ladies had "vice

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205. Arrangements are made for copying "refrain" and money for it is allowed the minister at whose house the *puy* is to meet (p. 204).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209. Potvin draws attention to the fact that this was Valentine Visconti's fête day, which she observed with certain ceremonies (*op. cit.*, p. 199).

<sup>13</sup> "à notte, à son dorgues à chant et deschant" (Potvin, p. 209).

<sup>14</sup> E. Raunié, *Épithaphier du Vieux Paris*, vol. ii, pp. 261-273.

<sup>15</sup> "sur la paine de privacion de nom et d'armes cy dessus déclairé, ou caz toutes voies qu'ilz seroient en santé sans fiction aucune," Potvin, p. 209.

de fausse rime, reditte trop longue ou trop courte ligne en la balade couronnée ou chapelée," they were to be sent back at once to the ladies, for them to judge anew, for, as the charter says:

Prenroient des autres balades les deux meilleures, pour ce que toutes icelles balades seront enregistrées en noz amoureux registres, chascun an, et ne seroit pas bien séant que la couronnée ou chapelée fussent vicieuses, puisque le vice apparoit clerement en ce meismes jour.<sup>16</sup>

The *Cour* also had a great celebration in the month of May, "à tel jour que ordonné sera," consisting of a "feste" and

diner de puy royal d'amoureuses chancons de cinq coupples dont la forme et taille est assez notoire; auquel puy, on donra au deux mieux faisans couronne d'argent pesans quatre unces, et chapel d'argent pesant trois unces.<sup>17</sup>

There was still another regularly recurring celebration of the *Cour d'Amour*, to be held on one of the five feast days of the Virgin, and consisting of a "puy royal et diner," for which *puys* were to be written "serventois de cinq coupples à la loenge et selon la feste d'icelle tres glorieuse vierge." The awards were a "couronne de 1 marc d'argent pesant, et chapel de cinq unces d'argent pesant, aux deux mieux faisans ce jour."<sup>18</sup>

Before leaving the literary side of the *Cour*, it is to be noted that not only *balades* and *serventois* were written, but also discussions, "se aucunes questions, pour plaisant passetempz sourdoient entre noz subgès en fourme d'amoureux procès pour differentes oppinions soustenir."<sup>19</sup>

The regular meetings of the *Cour* were held monthly at the house of the twenty-four ministers in turn, and if the appointed host was out of town or ill, he must find a substitute under pain of expulsion, and of having his arms blotted out of the "amoureux registre," in which were kept the names and the coats-of-arms of the members, and which was apparently a sort of *Tout Paris* of the times.<sup>20</sup> The registre was to be carefully kept as well as "les papiers

<sup>16</sup> Potvin, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>20</sup> For list of members see Piaget, *Rom.*, xx, pp. 424-444, and xxxi, p. 598.



des balades et autres fais de rethorique,"<sup>21</sup> so that they might be shown to those who wished to see them.

The literary side of the *Cour Amoureuse* has been described here in such detail because it probably accounts for some of the names on the membership list, notably those of Monstereul and Col, which seem so out of place in an association bearing such a title. This is not, however, the only association of its kind in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, altho set off from the others by its distinctly literary flavor. Passing reference must be made here to the fact that in those centuries were founded several orders of chivalry, such as that of Boucicault,<sup>22</sup> whose chief aim was the defense of women, and that of the Duke of Bourbon,<sup>23</sup> animated by somewhat the same idea. These were all attempts at a revival of the *courtois* attitude towards women, and it seems probable that they were a phase of the contemporary woman question. The general attitude of criticism of women at that time has already been dwelt upon; these organizations were simply signs of reaction against it.

### III. COL'S RÔLE IN THE QUARREL BETWEEN JEHAN DE MONSTEREUL AND AMBROSIUS DE MILIIS

We have found the quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose* to be interesting as showing the attitude of the times towards women, and also because of the light it throws on a little nucleus of Humanists. Another quarrel, or rather series of quarrels, also illuminating in that regard, was that between Jehan de Monstereul and an Italian Humanist, Ambrosius de Miliis,<sup>1</sup> with whom he indulged in

<sup>21</sup> Potvin, p. 207.

<sup>22</sup> In *Livre des faits du Marechal de Boucicault*, ed. by Michaud & Pouguillet, Paris, 1854, ch. 28 and 29, pp. 254-257.

<sup>23</sup> Douet d'Arcq, *Pièces inédites*, vol. i, p. 370 seq.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, 64, 68, note 1, 83; *Romania*, vol. 33, p. 393, n. 2; vol. ii, col. 1456 seq. Heuckenkamp, *Le Curial*, pp. xii, xxx-xxxv, xlv. Groeber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II Band, p. 1093 seq.

Through the kindness of M. Antoine Thomas, who has communicated to me a certain amount of unedited data about Ambrosius de Miliis found by him, it is possible to trace some of the movements of the "personnage énigmatique" (*Romania*, xxxiii, p. 394, note).

Ambrosius de Miliis was probably in the service of the Duke of Orleans as early as 1398, for there is a letter dated the 22d of September of that year from the Duke of Orleans to the King of Castille, Henry III, signed *Des Millez*,

polemics over the relative merits of Vergil, Cicero and Ovid.<sup>2</sup> This obscure Italian Humanist had come to Paris, and thru the kindness of Jehan de Monstereul, who admired him greatly because of his interest in Humanism, became the secretary of Louis of Orleans, and subsequently of Charles, his son. Monstereul and Ambrosius quarrelled, however, and the Italian wrote to Col<sup>3</sup> complaining bitterly of the Prévôt.

In this letter, which is rather long, Ambrosius excuses himself for not having written before, because of his manifold duties, and assures Col of his firm friendship. He alludes in uncomplimentary whom M. Thomas is inclined to identify with *Ambrosius*. (G. Daumet, *Études sur l'alliance de la France et de la Castille*, pp. 206-207; *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 118, 1898.) After the assassination of Louis of Orleans, the King gave him the post of notary, so he claimed in his law-suit tried before the Parliament of Paris, September 9, 1415, against Jean le Boursier, concerning a post of notaire du roy à bourses et à gages, in which he said Charles V "volt par avant ccccx et ce dit an, qu'il fust son notaire, et lui bailla gages extraordinaires de 111<sup>e</sup> frans. Puiz fu absens." (*Arch. Nat.*, X'A 4790, fol. 327 v<sup>o</sup>.) From another source (M. Faucon, *Rapport de deux missions en Italie*, in *Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3<sup>e</sup> série, vol. viii, Paris, 1882, p. 94) it appears that in 1412 he was in Asti, in the service of Charles of Orleans, and had been in the service of that prince the previous year as well. All of 1411 was not spent in Italy, for in the spring of that year a certain *Johannes Dyonisii, épiciier et bourgeois de Paris* had seized a horse and two *coffres* belonging to Maistre Ambrosius, to liquidate a debt of 18 livres tournois hotel charges, incurred by Ambrosius and his family (*Arch. Nat.*, X'A 58, fol. 134). In 1413 Ambrosius is back in Paris (we are following the Manuscript Archives Nat. X'A 4790, fol. 327 v<sup>o</sup>, concerning the law-suit) and claims that "et l'an CCCCXIII, le Roy memoratif de ce qu'avoit voeu et des lettres qu'avoit baillié à Ambroise, lui donna l'office de maistre Lorent Larin qui restoit forfait oudit office. Et encores, le vi<sup>e</sup> jour de May, CCCCXIII, lui donna le Roy, vacant par mort, et eut ses lettres. . . . The law-suit dragged on. Maistre Jaques de Claye succeeded in having adjudged to him the rights of Jean le Boursier, and continued the case. The last mention of the matter is dated March 17, 1417/8 (*Arch. Nat.*, X'A 4792, fol. 32 v<sup>o</sup>), and M. Thomas is inclined to accept the theory that Ambrosius met his death at the time of the Burgundian uprising in Paris (1418). There is still one later reference to Ambrosius, May, 1417, in the catalogue of the library at Blois (published by L. Delisle in the *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, I, 105-108, art. 47, p. 107), where a reference is made to the "Lettres closes de Maistre Ambroise," etc. Pierre Champion, in *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (1910), p. 5, note 2, raises the question as to whether this is not Ambrosius de Miliis, a query in the affirmative answer to which M. Thomas concurs.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, 64, 83. *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, cols. 1423 and 1426.

<sup>3</sup> *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, col. 1456.

terms to Monstereul, and expresses fear lest the latter succeed in turning Col against the writer by impugning his sincerity, and he attributes Monstereul's enmity to what he calls a puerile cause, viz., to the fact that the writer, carrying on his own business with a certain personage, humbly but firmly refused to yield to Jehan when the latter was bent on some trifle of no importance. Ambrosius accuses Monstereul of selfishness, self-interest and greed, and of acquiring much wealth by means best known to himself. He indulges in speculations as to the Prévôt's reasons for amassing so much money tho he has no family ties, and again refers to Monstereul's reputation for avarice. Ambrosius next gibes at Jehan's belletristic pretensions, at his reading to no good purpose, and at his desire to collect his letters for posterity (it is indeed rather interesting to note that Jehan was consciously collecting and preparing them with that aim in view). The Prévôt's claims as a philosopher and as an orator are next commented upon by the Italian Humanist, who notes the fact that Jehan acknowledges a certain difficulty in understanding some of Seneca's maxims. The writer goes on to suggest to Col that he attempt to make Monstereul mend his ways; that he argue secretly with him at first, and that if this is not successful he try publicity.

The Italian then writes concerning his own present way of life, what he calls "*meam in praesens campestram vitam & ejus quod a negotiis superest otii dispensationem tuae deduci notitiae cupio.*" He refers here to his life as secretary of the Duke of Orleans, and alludes to Col as experienced in that career in which the writer is a beginner. He considers his profession one that offers wonderful opportunities for usefulness to the State, and rejoices that he has this position as secretary of the Duke of Orleans, although the responsibility is great.

Col apparently communicated this letter to Monstereul, and to Clamanges as well, for in the Lydius edition (p. 31) of the latter's works there is a letter written by him to Jehan, in which he speaks of seeing "*non epistolam sed hostilem potius accusationem quam Ambrosius ad optimum Guntherum nostrum de te scripsit.*" Nicolas expresses his amazement that any one should think such things of the Prévôt, much more of some one befriended by him. Clamanges is also astonished that such accusations should be sent to Col, the Prévôt's most faithful friend:

. . . illa scripta . . . suis author ad Guntherum tuum inter omnes mortales . . . fidelissimum, sincerissimum, integerrimumq: amicum mittere ausus est.

If the Italian did not refrain from such conduct from ethical motives, it seemed strange that he did not do so from reasons of policy, for his conduct was not of a nature to inspire confidence in the breast of any other would-be benefactor. Clamanges considers Ambrosius a case for pity rather than for resentment, and that unconsciously he had done the Prévôt a favour by openly showing himself the false friend that he was. From this point to the end of the letter, the writer generalizes on friendship in true Clamangese style.

This letter is not the only one, on the subject of Ambrosius' epistle to Gontier, with which the name of this Churchman has been connected.

In the *Opera Omnia* of Nicolas de Clamenges, Lydius edition, p. 33, Epistle VII bears the following heading:

Sub nomine Guntheri Colli regij Secretarij, ad eundem Ambrosium scripta, suae ingratitude in Iohannem Praepositum Insulensem increptoria. "Justum erat, Ambrosi, si saperes aut boni in te viri imaginem, etc."<sup>4</sup>

These opening words coincide with those found in an entry concerning the manuscript of a letter (attributed to Col), in the Tours library,<sup>5</sup> which runs as follows:

3 Fol. 60. Lettre de Gonthier à Ambroise de Miliis, pour le blâmer de sa conduite à l'égard de Jean, prévôt de Lille. "Justum erat, Ambrosi, si saperis aut boni in te viri" . . . "in quam partem tue habene laxabuntur." Suit la rubrique de cette lettre, "Responsio Gontherii ad sequentem epistolam."

The following number, on fol. 61, is the letter of Ambroise de Miliis that caused all the trouble. It is reprinted in the *Am. Col.*, vol. II, col. 1456.

The two letters are practically the same as far as subject-matter is concerned. Both of them bitterly upbraid Ambrosius de Miliis for attacking Jehan de Monstereul, and object to the attempt to bring the writer into the quarrel, on Ambrosius' side, against his

<sup>4</sup> Manuscript of letter listed in Rheims library, number 628, fol. 20.

<sup>5</sup> For text, see App. D.



close friend the Prévôt Jehan. The writers enumerate all the favors that Jehan had done for Ambrosius; how he had hospitably welcomed Ambrosius to his house, and obtained a good position for him, and incidentally touch on the Italian's pertinacity when seeking a post. Both of the letters dwell on the fact that Jehan had praised Ambrosius very highly and did all that he could to help him. Both letters also speak of Ambrosius' former professions of gratitude, and how, far from expecting to be attacked by him, Jehan would have expected of him succor and defense, in case of need. Nor had Ambrosius hurt himself alone; he had aroused the suspicions of the French, who would no longer be so hospitable to foreigners. Another regrettable aspect of the matter was Ambrosius' duplicity, as he had never shown any signs that his friendship was waning, and his letter had been a great surprise. Both letters dwell on the fact that the Prévôt ought to feel indebted to Ambrosius for at last putting aside his hypocrisy, and taking openly a hostile stand. The letter of the Lydius edition contains two short passages here not found in the Tours MS. Both letters refer to Ambrosius' acknowledgment that the cause of his resentment was a trifling incident, and follow this reference by an exhortation to Ambrosius to return to his better self. The Italian Humanist is told that he ought to accept in good part what a friend says frankly and openly, and that otherwise he is in danger of having no friends, only flatterers. The privilege of frankness of speech between friends is next touched upon, and the fact that a more or less violent discussion ought not to break up friendship, but on the contrary renew it, quoting Terence to the effect that the quarrel of lovers is the renewal of love, and concluding by accusing Ambrosius of being oversensitive. Both letters also accuse him of wishing, in his attacks upon the Prévôt's ignorance, to display his knowledge; all that he had displayed however was his bad faith. At this point there is in the Lydius letter a digression on the dangers of allowing oneself to be carried away by eloquence without wisdom, since there is no true eloquence without wisdom, and since wisdom does not abide in a heart full of gall. Wisdom is then defined, and the suggestion is made that if Ambrosius had more of that quality, he might the better see some of his own mistakes. Both letters conclude by saying that

the writer does not wish to enumerate the insults that Ambrosius has hurled at Monstereul, for that would take too much time, and that Ambrosius' attacks need no answer, as the Prévôt's integrity is his own best defense, but that if any were necessary the Italian must remember that such accusations may well be two-edged.

The endings of the two letters differ somewhat. The Lydius letter suggests to Ambrosius that Monstereul has other friends, whose answers would have been very different in tone from the above if they had received such a letter from the Italian; and concludes with a quotation from Virgil anent the native guile of the Ligurian, and warns Ambrosius against making it applicable in his case. The Tours letter ends with the warning that if he does not know how to curb his tongue and pen, he had best be more circumspect in the future in giving them free rein. A perusal of the two letters reveals so much similarity between them, that the first impression is that it must be the same text. A closer inspection, however, brings out the following facts:

For the first eighteen lines the Tours MS. and the Lydius edition letter coincide. This is also true of some twenty additional lines of the Tours MS. There are a few passages where the order of the words is different, and where some omissions and intercalations occur. Passages also occur in which the Tours letter and the one in the Lydius edition use an entirely different arrangement of material, and as we have already seen, the Lydius letter has elaborations not in the Tours MS.<sup>6</sup> These elaborations are obviously in the Clamangese style, and it may well be that the Tours epistle was attributed to Gontier through some misunderstanding due to the fact that Nicolas de Clamanges had written it *sub nomine Guntheri Colli*, as the Latin rubric has it. The question is an intricate one, but it is interesting to note that in Jehan de Monstereul's letter to Col<sup>7</sup> in answer to the epistles under discussion, he quotes the two lines of Virgil that end the Clamanges letter, and that do not appear in the Tours MS. That is our chief interest in this letter of Monstereul, which for the most part is composed of a mass of invective against

<sup>6</sup> The foregoing remarks are illustrated by the two letters; for complete text of which, see App. D.

<sup>7</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds Latin. 13062, fol. 72v°, App. E.

Ambrosius, of rebuttal of the various charges made against him by the Italian, and of protestation of friendship for Col.

While none of the epistles in the quarrel are formally dated, the epistle VI of Nicolas de Clamanges to Jehan de Monstereul bears at the end, *Datum Parisiis*. It was after 1394-1395 (A. Muntz, *Nicolas de Clémanges, sa vie et ses écrits*, Strasbourg, 1846, p. 11) that Nicolas was called to Avignon to take the post of secretary to Benedict XIII, so that the quarrel apparently took place before Nicolas left for Avignon. Moreover, in his letter to Col, Ambrosius de Miliis speaks of himself as a *raw recruit* in comparison with Col, who is a *veteran*, and makes plain by references to his position in the household of the Duke of Orleans that he is speaking of his career as secretary of the prince.<sup>8</sup> Ambrosius was probably secretary to the Duke circa 1398, as has been said above, so that in all likelihood the quarrel took place between 1395 and 1398. According to this hypothesis, it precedes chronologically the quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose*; but here it has been treated afterwards because of its closer connection with Col's literary group, whose activities will presently be discussed.

The rôle of Col in this quarrel with Ambrosius de Milliis shows the esteem in which he was held by the group, and that is what is valuable for us in it. Ambrosius' letter suggests that Col has more real understanding of Humanism than Monstereul, at least in the eyes of the writer, a point of view that might be substantiated by the very attitude of admiration for Col's learning seen in several letters of Monstereul himself. In view of the lack of more solid evidence this is as far as the point can be considered here. Before leaving this subject, it may be noted that this quarrel is another point of resemblance between the French group and the Italian Humanists, who were in practice such individualists that they could get along with nobody. A good example of their combative attitude is found in the Italian Humanist, Niccolo Niccoli, who eventually quarreled even with his friend Leonardo Bruni. The difficulties

<sup>8</sup> *Ampl. Col*, vol. ii, ép. lxxv: *Supervacuum tamen fuerit, & prope temerarium hujus ipsius vitae, modum ne dicam motum tibi eruditissime vir, explicare quam tu jam veteranus miles doceas. Ego tyro rudis ad istam tibi quies & agitata, illius tibi commoda & incommoda omnia sunt experta.*

of the later Italian Humanists, the Gargantuan quarrels of Poggio and Filelfo, are too well known to need more than a passing reference.

#### IV.—THE QUESTION OF THE *Curial*

In the same Tours Manuscript that contains Col's letter to Ambrosius de Milliis, blaming him for his behavior to Monstereul, and two letters of the Italian Humanist to Col,<sup>1</sup> is also found the unsigned Latin letter *De Vita Curiali*, that most critics consider the Latin text of Alain Chartier's *Curial*.<sup>2</sup> The letter has nothing by which to identify it, save the following descriptive note:<sup>3</sup> "Actum ambasie die secunda februari anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo quinto." The only important deduction from the above is that it was written before 1425. The letter has been reprinted by Martène in his *Amplissima Collectio*,<sup>4</sup> with a heading not in the Tours MS. "Ambrosio de Milliis ad Gontherum," and the date 1435 instead of 1425. Collon<sup>5</sup> considers this an "attribution douteuse," although it is warmly championed by Heuckenkamp and accepted by Groeber.<sup>6</sup> The German savant had not seen the Tours MS., which he thought was probably lost,<sup>7</sup> and so bases his theory on the probability (although he admits the contrary possibility) that the "Ambrosius de Milliis ad Gontherum" heading was to be found in the Tours MS., which did not prove to be the case. This of course weakens Heuckenkamp's point that Chartier did not write the *De Vita Curiali*, a theory that has been vigorously attacked by Piaget<sup>8</sup> and Thomas.<sup>9</sup> To both these savants the Latin *Curial*

<sup>1</sup> MS. No. 978.

<sup>2</sup> A. Piaget, *Le miroir aux Dames*, Neuchâtel, 1908, pp. 25-26; *Romania*, vol. xxx, pp. 45-48; p. 393, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, No. 37, Tours, p. 703.

<sup>4</sup> II, c. 1459 seq.

<sup>5</sup> *Cat. Gén.*, p. 703.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Curial*, Halle, 1899, pp. xxx-xxxiv. Groeber also accepts Heuckenkamp's theory. *Grundriss*, 2', p. 1104.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xi. G. Paris and A. Thomas concur in the statement that it was not lost (*Rom.*, xxviii, p. 484).

<sup>8</sup> *Romania*, 1901, pp. 45-48.

<sup>9</sup> *Romania*, 1904, p. 393, note 2; p. 394.



was due to Chartier's pen, and the inscription in Martène, "Ad Gontherum," suggests that the editors of that compilation simply found this letter among others written by Ambrosius and Col to each other, and moved by a probability, put down the ascription as an actuality.

Heuckenkamp, although accepting—as has been said above—Ambrosius de Miliis' authorship of the *De Vita*, does not believe that the "Gontherum" referred to is Gontier Col. His reasons are, that if it had been written to Col, it would necessarily have been written before 1395, as Col began his court career in that year. It is a little difficult to see as M. Piaget notes<sup>10</sup> why Heuckenkamp makes his court life begin with Col's journey to Avignon and disregards his position as King's notary since 1380. Moreover, while denying that the *De Vita Curiali* is dedicated to Col, Heuckenkamp makes a suggestion concerning the "Gontherum" of the *Amplissima Collectio* reprint. He surmises that it is the "Franc-Gontier" that Philippe de Vitry had just popularized in his *Dit de Franc-Gontier*—the countryman contented with a quiet existence along with a mate of his choice.<sup>11</sup> This theory identifying the "ad Gontherum" with Franc-Gontier is attractive, but the first lines of the *De Vita Curiali* makes it hard to accept.<sup>12</sup> "Vir diserte," as referring to "Franc-Gontier," could scarcely be considered apt by any reader of Vitry's poem. Moreover, although we have seen that the term "frater" was used loosely among the Pre-Renaissance group,—an example of which is Nicolas de Clamanges' oft-repeated "frater carissime" addressed to Col,—there is a considerable difference between such a usage and the fact of the Humanist author of *De Vita Curiali*, calling Franc-Gontier "carissime frater."

<sup>10</sup> Piaget, *Romania*, 1901, p. 46, and *Le Miroir aux Dames*, Neuchâtel, 1908, pp. 25-26. Je rappelle pour mémoire que M. Heuckenkamp a tenté d'enlever à Chartier la paternité du *Curial*, qui serait l'œuvre d'un humaniste italien, Ambrosius de Miljis. Mais cette thèse, qui un moment a rencontré une grande faveur, n'est plus aujourd'hui soutenue ni soutenable.

<sup>11</sup> Heuckenkamp, *Curial*, p. xlv. G. Paris refutes this theory, *Romania*, xxviii, p. 484.

<sup>12</sup> Heuckenkamp, *Curial*, p. 2. The opening lines:

"Suades sepius et hortaris, vir diserte ac carissime frater, ut tibi ad vitam curialem anhelanti ingressum locumque preparem et in officio curiali assequendo intercessione opeque adiutem," etc.

While there is no evidence going to show that Alain Chartier did know the members of the Pre-Renaissance group,<sup>13</sup> there is also nothing to prevent our supposing that he was probably not ignorant of their activities.

As far as sentiments expressed are concerned the *De Vita Curiali* might have been written by any one of several of the Pre-Renaissance group, as well as by Alain Chartier. Vitry's poem has already been mentioned, and it is believed to have inspired Pierre d'Ailly to write *Combien est misérable la vie d'un tyran*.<sup>14</sup> Both these were done into Latin by Nicolas de Clamanges.<sup>15</sup> Monstereul, in his letter to Col and Manhac,<sup>16</sup> approaches still more closely the idea that inspired the *De Vita Curiali*, viz., scorn for court life. The letter is cast in the form of a vision, that threadbare literary commonplace of the period, and describes how Terence appears to the author, roundly abuses court life, and advises him to give it up, to live in the country, love solitude, read books, etc. All this is much in the tone of the *De Vita Curiali*.

Here are four men with distinct Pre-Renaissance sympathies, extolling the simple life and describing the drawbacks of a court existence. The subject was accordingly decidedly in the atmosphere among this little group of writers—perhaps as a contrast to the stormy times in which they dwelt. Living in a country rent by internal strife and foreign wars, it may be that these men felt a longing for a quiet life, for an occasion of mental stock-taking—a revulsion against the artificialities of court life. Or it may have been simply an attempt to use literature as an escape from life. There is still another consideration which seems plausible and which might explain these poems about country life. Monstereul quotes Vergil's Eclogues

<sup>13</sup> A. Thomas, in *Romania*, 1904, p. 393.

<sup>14</sup> *Rom.* XXIX, p. 112 sq.; *Rom.* XXVII, p. 64. P. Tschackert: *Peter von Alli*, Gotha, 1877, p. 353.

<sup>15</sup> A. Müntz, *Nicolas de Clémenges, Sa vie et ses écrits*, Strasbourg, 1846, p. 60. 14. *Descriptio vitae tyrannicae* se trouve dans Phil. Camerarius, *Operoe horarum subcivitarum*, p. 61. 15. *Carmen de vitae rusticae felicitate*. *Ibid.* The translation is also found in Lydius' edition of Clamanges, *Opera Omnia*, p. 355. Nicolai de Clemangis *Descriptio vitae tyrannicae cum detestatione ac reprobatione*. Note dedication: *Ad Guntherum Colli*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, col. 1398.

as though they were familiar,<sup>17</sup> and to a group who knew and admired Petrarch, Vergil's Eclogues were probably not unknown. What more natural than that the above-mentioned Frenchmen wrote and translated the poems in a conscious imitation of a classic literary *genre*, to wit, the pastoral. To be sure, this *genre* was not a flourishing one in France at this epoch. There had been a period of efflorescence of that theme in the twelfth century with the *pastourelle*, but its great vogue had passed, and although there is more of the pastoral element in France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than is generally acknowledged, it was found most often in the Nativity plays, Noël's, chansons, and political pastorals; that is to say, the pastoral setting was used as a cover under which to edify religiously, or to attack, flatter or exhort, politically. So while there was enough of the French pastoral influence extant at that time to lead us to admit that the *Franc-Gontier* at any rate may have owed to it part of its inspiration, we can scarcely deny at least a tincture of the Humanistic spirit to the poems of Vitry and Ailly.

#### V.—GROUP ASPECT OF CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

The quarrel between Jehan de Monstereul and Ambrosius de Miliis also brings out the group aspect of the Pre-Renaissance, for like the real Renaissance, it had its coterie, to wit, a rather closely knit literary group with an aggressive cast of mind, which we might suggest is one of the favorite means by which France puts into motion her literary reforms. This would describe the Pléiade, as it would the Lyons School, and could also be used without too great an extension of the term, to the group to which Gontier Col belonged. This group also consisted of a number of men moved by the same literary ideal, altho the great difference between them and the two Renaissance coteries lies in the fact that the men of the earlier group were amateurs of letters rather than professionals—as were Ronsard and Maurice Scève. The significance to us of this group as such is briefly this. Bound by ties of friendship certain men exchanged letters that are important in giving

<sup>17</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 60. *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, col. 1405. The same line is quoted in both places, Vergil, Eclogue 2, line 35.

us information about them and their intellectual activities that is available nowhere else. Such a source of information is peculiarly valuable when dealing with a man like Col, who was permeated by the diplomatic fear of putting pen to paper; whose self-effacing tendencies are hinted at in the beginning of one of Monstereul's letters, "Sed rursus peto a te, Gonthere, ne lateas"<sup>1</sup>; and whose deplorable habits as a letter-writer Monstereul complains of to him although he tries to defend him against the criticism of his friends on that score.<sup>2</sup> If Col was indeed chronically a poor correspondent, it would explain the paucity of letters by him that have come down to us—rather puzzling in view of the large number of letters extant written to him by his friends.<sup>3</sup>

The dearth of letters by Col could not be quite satisfactorily explained on the theory of a possible confiscation of his property and seizure of his papers, attending his supposed murder in 1418, for a like fate befell other men, whose correspondence, or at least enough to judge them by, has been preserved for us. A case in point is Gontier Col's friend, Monstereul.

A good example of the value of the letters of the members of this group is the "praeceptores" letter, written to Col and Manhac by Monstereul; although in view of the dates when Col and Monstereul became secretaries of the King, and in the absence of any trace of Col having taught in any of the Paris colleges, the term "Praeceptores" is probably not to be taken literally, but is used in the same loose way that Nicolas de Clamanges uses "frater carissime" in his letters. Moreover, Monstereul studied in Paris (though he did not take his degree),<sup>4</sup> and perhaps this circumstance affects somewhat the attitude of the good Prévôt. There is also another point to be noted. Gontier Col went to Avignon in 1395 where he first came in personal contact with Italian thought. Jean de Monstereul visited Italy for the first time in 1394-1395. It seems not unlikely that he got a glimpse of Humanism, just enough to appeal to his imagination, and when he returned to Paris and was thrown with his fellow-secretary Col, who had also just

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Clamanges, Monstereul, Miliis.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas, p. 5.



returned from his first contact with Italian life, and who had similar literary tastes with possibly more complete formal scholastic training, it is not to be wondered at that he takes the attitude he does towards Col.

Monstereul's letters to Col are a mine of information,<sup>5</sup> and show that he was a friend for whom the Prévôt de Lille had great respect. In one of them is found a good description of Col's attitude towards learning and scholars.<sup>6</sup> Here Monstereul speaks of Col as the man who first advised him to study, who inspired him by his exhortation and his example. He also refers to Col's habit of taking books on his travels with him so as not to waste any time. This testimony to his love of books is confirmed by one of Col's safe-conducts from the English King,<sup>7</sup> which specifically mentions "libris" in the list of Col's possessions. Monstereul also speaks of his friend's love for discussing things pertaining "ad eloquentiam" (rhetoric), and his encouragement extended to men interested in learning. In still another letter of Monstereul to Maître Gontier the latter's love for the classics and Vergil is again emphasized.<sup>9</sup>

In spite of the testimony of the Prévôt de Lille as to Col's love of Vergil, this author is not quoted by Col in the very pedantic speech he made before the Duke of Brittany, nor in his letter to the Pope, although both contain classical allusions. Col quotes from the Bible (6 citations), "Boèce" (1), "Cato" (1), "les droiz" (1), "la loy" (1), "Orace" (1), Petrarch (1), "Roman de la Rose" (1), "Salust" (1), "Terence" (1), "la Tragédie" (1), anonymous (5). In his letter to the Pope he cites only the Bible, Sallust, and Anneus Seneca, once each. The list is not particularly significant for our purpose, I think, save to note the absence of quotations from Vergil (as already mentioned) or Pliny, although there is evidence to prove that Col owned a manuscript copy of the letters of Pliny. This information is drawn from a letter of the eminent churchman, Nicolas de Clamanges,<sup>10</sup> a friend and cor-

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Rymer, vol. 9, p. 139.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>10</sup> For his letters to Col, consult his *Opera Omnia*, Lydius edition, 1613, which contains all but fifteen, for which A. Müntz, *Nicolas de Clémenges*, pp.

respondent of Col's. The story runs that Clamanges, during his stay at Avignon as papal secretary, came to know the librarian of Benedict XIII, and that when Nicolas spoke of his friend Col having a manuscript of the letters of Pliny and that a copy might be made for the Pope's library, the librarian was overwhelmed with joy.<sup>11</sup>

From the nature of the writings that Col has left us, there is little internal evidence as to his first-hand knowledge of the classics, and this information must be drawn from other sources. We have said that Monstereul tells us that Col admired Vergil; Clamanges tells us that Col owned a copy of Pliny's letters. Beyond this it is not safe to go, for although Monstereul describes Col as one who

23 and 27, note 2, refers to the following works: D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, Paris, 1723, vol. i; Buloeus, *Historia universitatis Parisiensis*, 1670; Baluse, *Miscellanea*, 1713 (vol. vi). For unedited letters of Clamanges to Col, see *Bibliothèque Nationale*; Fonds Latin, 3127, folios 21vo and 36vo, 37rto.

<sup>11</sup> Nicolas de Clamanges, *Opera Omnia* (Lydius edition, 1613), Ep. 38, pp. 121-122, cited by L. Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, i, p. 486. While Clamanges' letter fixes Col's ownership of a copy of Pliny's Letters, which is the only thing that directly interests us here, we might note that in the *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque d'Urbain V* (1369) (in M. Faucon, *La librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, vol. i, pp. 93-262), there are references to four copies of Pliny without noting which Pliny is meant: p. 154, No. 694; p. 162, No. 798; p. 163, No. 800; p. 176, No. 965.

However, in view of the following entry, it is possible that both were represented:

Francisci Petrarca, *Epistolae de Rebus Familiaribus et Variæ* (ed. Fracassetti, Florentiae, 1862), vol. ii, p. 182, Epistola V.

"In versiculis autem ad te scriptis quos tam ardentè efflagitas, scito Plinii Secundi consilio opus esse, quem Italia excedens in patria sua, Veronae scilicet, ingenti virorum illustrium comitatu acie, dimisi. Hic mihi Plinius nusquam est, nec alteri, quod equidem ego noverim, nisi romano pontifici."

Although it is known that the Pope's library under Benedict XIII had suffered losses, in the Catalogue of the library of Peniscola there is the following reference to Pliny's letters (M. Faucon, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 140, No. 933):

"Plinius secundus in epistolas."

There are several other references to Pliny in the same catalogue, without, however, distinguishing between the two Plinys as above (Faucon, vol. ii, p. 128):

No. 773. Item, Plinius in uno volumine.

No. 774. Item (6) Prima Pars Plinii.

No. 775. Item Secunda Pars Plinii.

No. 776. Item. Plinius in uno volumine.

The lack of exact dates make it impossible to identify No. 933 with the manuscript that was to be copied for the Pope from Col's copy of Pliny's letters. F. Ehrle, in his *Historia Bibliothecæ Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianæ tum Avenionensis* (Romae, 1890), throws no light on the subject.

was interested in original sources, the fact that Col quotes Terence, Cato, Horace is no proof that Col has read them in the original, although this is probable. The manner in which he quotes Petrarch and Jehan de Meung along with the Latin writers and the Bible is refreshingly Renaissance in tone.

Nicolas de Clamanges' letters to Col also show the friendship existing between the two men. His rôle in the quarrel with Ambrosius de Miliis has already been mentioned, and it is rather interesting to note that it is in one of the letters in the quarrel, that of Nicolas to Jehan, that there is perhaps the clearest statement of the friendship of Col and Jehan.<sup>12</sup> Another letter of Nicolas makes mention of Pierre Col, Gontier's brother.<sup>13</sup> He also writes to Col on such varied subjects as the corruption of the times,<sup>14</sup> their common love of books,<sup>15</sup> the plague raging in Paris,<sup>16</sup> and Col's troubles during the Civil Wars.<sup>17</sup>

From a broader point of view, Nicolas is interesting to us not only because of his relations with Col, but because of the stand he took in regard to the state of the Church. I do not wish to touch the subject as to whether he wrote the *De Corruptio* or not, but this much is to be noted: That it is a product of the period and was believed for a long time to be his; and that such a violent attack on the Church did not astonish people into indignantly denying the possibility of his having written it. So the Pre-Renaissance like the real Renaissance had in it elements that were germs of the Reformation, although they were all blended together at the beginning of both movements. In the real Renaissance, after a little time, they became separated; in the Pseudo-Renaissance, the movement was checked before any very great development could take place.

The letters of Monstereul and Nicolas de Clamanges not only give us information about the three friends, but also serve to show their connection with prominent savants and littérateurs of the day, such as the famous Gerson, although his position towards them is fairly well defined by his rôle in the quarrel of the *Roman de la*

<sup>12</sup> *Opera Omnia*, p. 31, "Tamen inter," etc.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 305.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

*Rose.* Another prominent savant to whom Monstereul has written a few letters was Pierre d'Ailly, whose lay interests were not only Humanistic, but scientific rather, if I may phrase it so. He was of an inquiring turn of mind, but that faculty of his for investigating untrodden paths, instead of spending itself exclusively in the search and study of Latin texts, turned to astrology and geography, and his *De Imagine Mundi* was the result of this work.<sup>18</sup> It would fall quite outside of my province to discuss the question as to how much of an inspiration Ailly's work proved to be to Columbus in his explorations. This much is sure, the discoverer of the New World owned a copy of the *De Imagine Mundi*,<sup>19</sup> and quoted Ailly's work.<sup>20</sup> In addition to the geographical interest which was a prominent factor of the real Renaissance, Ailly is significant from still another point of view, i. e., as a writer of mystic poetry.<sup>21</sup> Among his works are *Le livre du Rossignolet*, which has been called a "chant de mystique amour,"<sup>22</sup> *la piteuse Complainte et Oraison dévote de humaine créature qui de l'estat de péché nouvellement à Dieu veut retourner*, and *Le Jardin amoureux de l'âme dévote*, which was printed in Lyons between 1515 and 1527.<sup>23</sup> The element of mysticism in the works of Marguerite de Navarre and of the School of Lyons, which is known to all, shows still another bond between the false and the true Renaissance.

In spite of their interest in the classics and the sciences, however, Ailly and Gerson must be regarded as thoroughgoing theologians, too deeply steeped in mediaeval traditions and too busy with the Schism to be considered forerunners of the Renaissance on the purely literary side.

Philippe de Vitry has already been mentioned, but it is a little difficult to define his personal relations to the three friends, in view

<sup>18</sup> C. Guignebert, *De imagine Mundi ceterisque Petri de Alliaco geographicis opusculis*, Paris, 1902.

<sup>19</sup> H. Harrisse, *Fernand Colomb, sa vie, ses œuvres*, Paris, 1872, pp. 88, 119, 170.

<sup>20</sup> A. de Humboldt, *Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent*, etc., i, 60-70, 76-83.

<sup>21</sup> L. Salembier, *Les œuvres françaises du Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, évêque de Cambrai*, *Revue de Lille*, Décembre, 1906.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>23</sup> J. Babelon, *La Bibliothèque Française de Fernand Colomb*, Paris, 1913, pp. 92 and 93.



of the paucity of material.<sup>24</sup> It is easy to take Philippe de Vitry as an example of the mutations of reputation, for few writers have been the subject of such varied statements and corrections.<sup>25</sup> This poet, whom Petrarch addressed as "Tu poeta nunc unicus Galliarum,"<sup>26</sup> is represented to us by the *Dit de Franc-Gontier* already mentioned and by the *Chapel des fleurs de lis*. He was long considered the author of that interminable *Ovide moralisé* now ascribed to Chrestien Legouis de S<sup>e</sup>-More.<sup>27</sup>

There are a number of contemporaries of Col who had no personal relations with him that have left any trace, although some corresponded with Monstereul and it seems not out of place to mention a few of them here, inasmuch as they were very representative of this epoch. I have in mind first of all the group of translators. Passing reference has already been made to the fact that, although the translators of Charles V (with whom must also be counted those of the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Orleans) had by no means the point of view of the modern scholar towards their text, neither was theirs wholly that of the mediaeval *clerc*. Their attitude on the linguistic side may not be devoid of interest. Let me quote Brunot:<sup>28</sup>

Au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, si considérable que soit le nombre des termes empruntés au latin, si conscients même que puissent être certains emprunts, on ne voit point d'effort systématique pour naturaliser des mots latins.

Or c'est là ce qui caractérise les latiniseurs de l'époque nouvelle (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). A tort ou à raison, soit éblouissement des chefs-d'œuvre qui leur sont révélés, soit paresse d'esprit et incapacité d'utiliser les ressources dont leur vulgaire dispose, ils se sentent incapables de l'adapter à des besoins nouveaux et ils le déclarent. Ils ont désormais une doctrine, et un système.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> A. Thomas, *Les lettres à la cour des Papes*, Rome, 1884, pp. 56-59.

<sup>25</sup> *Romania*, xxvii, pp. 55-92. A. Piaget, *Le Chapel des fleurs de lis de Philippe de Vitry*.

<sup>26</sup> P. Paris, *Manuscripts français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, iii, 180-181.

<sup>27</sup> *Romania*, x, 455. B. Hauréau, *Mémoire sur un commentaire des métamorphoses d'Ovide* in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xxx, Part ii, pp. 52-53.

<sup>28</sup> *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900*, Paris, 1905, vol. i, pp. 515-517. For mention of Pre-Renaissance group, Jehan de Monstereul, Gontier Col, pp. 525-526; Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 541.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 518.

The systematic enriching of the language was also the end and aim of the Pléiade on the linguistic side, although theirs was a much broader programme than that of the translators of Charles V. It is also worth noting the fourteenth and fifteenth century opinion as to the rôle of the translator in developing literature, in view of the importance of the Renaissance translators, who can not be disregarded when the literature of the sixteenth century is studied. The results of the systematic vocabulary-building with Latin material are undeniable. Brunot says:<sup>30</sup> "Le nombre de mots latins introduits à cette époque ne saurait être déterminé, même par approximation" . . . "Dans l'ensemble toutefois il restera certainement acquis que l'importation s'est alors fait en masse." This is significant, for it shows certain of the aims and results obtained by the Pre-Renaissance on the linguistic side to have been shared by the Pléiade. Herein lies their importance for us.

The first two translators of the fourteenth century in point of time, Oresme and Berçuire, seem to have had no connection with our group, but mention might be made of Laurent de Premierfait, who, it will be remembered, remonstrated with the Prévôt de Lille when that worthy had the laws of Lycurgus carved on the front of his house, and accused him of Paganism. Monstereul treated this charge with little seriousness. He thanked his friend for his good advice, but had no hesitation about stating that his interests leaned to mundane things rather than to sacred ones.<sup>31</sup> This attitude is quite Renaissance in tone; it involves the "separation of Faith and Reason,"<sup>32</sup> which was logically worked out in Pomponio Lato. Without, indeed, going quite so far afield, Monstereul's own contemporary, Coluccio Salutato, said that the Bible was only poetry, in parts, and he cited the poetic books of the Scriptures to defend his stand concerning the reading of the pagan poets.<sup>33</sup>

This incident shows that Monstereul's point of view reflected some of the Paganism of the Italian Humanists. It will be noted that Col left no similar trace of incipient tendencies. The point has

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 518.

<sup>31</sup> *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, col. 1409, No. xlvii.

<sup>32</sup> *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, May 21, 1896, p. 447; Petit de Julleville, *Jean de Montreuil*.

<sup>33</sup> *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, Roma, 1896 (ed. Novati), vol. iii, pp. 541-542.

been raised by Hauvette as to whether the Laurent de Premierfait of the Lycurgus incident can be the one who translated Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustribus*, and the *Decamerone* into French. He explains the problem by positing two distinct sides to Premierfait's nature,<sup>34</sup> interpreting him as an interesting type of a transitional man, with all the contradictions so frequently found in a transitional epoch, to wit, that of a member of the Church of Rome who did not hesitate to translate the *Decamerone*, and yet of one who called a friend to account for his fondness for Lycurgus, on the ground that it was too secular. Of course, this is a case of the mote and the beam, but it admirably illustrates the subsequent Renaissance struggle between love for divine and profane interests, and as such appeals to us.

The first translator of the *Decamerone* into French is also an innovator in a small way, for he was one of the first to translate a book written in a modern tongue, although his method of doing so is mediaeval enough to warrant attention being drawn to it. As Laurent de Premierfait did not know Italian, he took a collaborator, an Italian monk, who translated the *Decamerone* into Latin, and Laurent translated the Latin version into French.<sup>35</sup> This probably did not seem at all questionable to a century that had translated a number of Greek texts, not from the original, but from the Latin translations and modern scholarship has been skeptical of the claims put forward that Guillaume Fillastre knew that language,<sup>36</sup> since not

<sup>34</sup> Hauvette, *De Laurentio de Primofato*, p. 29:

"Laurentium de Primofato cum Laurentio Joannis adversario aequari posse vix credibile arbitramur. Non tamen de duobus distinctis Laurentiis agi confidenter asseverare audemus; hoc saltem confirmari posse nobis videtur: si Laurentius unus et idem est qui M. Tullii, Aristotelis et praesertim Boccacii opera transtulit, sacrorumque studiorum causam adversus paganae antiquitatis fautores oravit, fateri debemus duos homines, duas indoles, duas mentes in uno corpore exstistisse."

The only good argument against this theory is one brought forward by Hauvette himself, viz., that in view of the flippant tone of Jean de Monstereul's letter to Laurent de Premierfait, it is improbable that he (J. de M.) would let slip such an excellent "tu quoque" as that afforded by a mention of Laurent de Premierfait's translations of Boccaccio.

<sup>35</sup> Hauvette, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82. L. Delaruelle, *G. Budé*, Paris, 1907, p. 5:

"On trouve en tête d'une traduction du Phédon, qui est à la bibliothèque de Rheims, une lettre de Filiastre au chapitre de Reims pour qui il avait fait exécuter le ms. (*Catalogue Général des Manuscrits*, xxxix, 1<sup>e</sup> Partie, p. 171.)

a Greek MS. is found in this library of Rheims, which contains a number of his MSS. His interest in antiquity was pronounced, however, and that is what gave rise to the idea that he was a Hellenist. He had an inquiring turn of mind, and classical antiquity was not alone in holding his attention. He had an interest in the sciences of mathematics and geography, and his work in the last-named subject would have made its mark,<sup>37</sup> had it not been completely cast in the shade by the geographic works of his brilliant friend and contemporary, Pierre d'Ailly.

Passing mention may also be made of Jean Courtecuisse,<sup>38</sup> translator of the *Traité des Quatre Vertus*, who with Jacques de Novion took Monstereul's side in his quarrel with Ambrosius de Miliis.<sup>39</sup>

When the Pre-Renaissance movement is viewed in its general aspects, it is interesting to note the number of points it has in common with the Renaissance proper. The most striking is the influence of Humanistic Italy through its well-known men, through the presence of its less well-known Humanists in Paris, and through trips into Italy undertaken by Frenchmen with scholarly training. To this may be added the rôle of the literary coterie in the development of both the Pre-Renaissance, and the Renaissance proper. In fact, the group to which Col belonged might well be compared without stretching a point to the literary groups of the sixteenth century. Other points common to the two movements are, the activity of the school of translators, and the movement for the conscious enrichment of the vocabulary. The writers on mysticism in the sixteenth century remind us that the Pre-Renaissance had Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson, while in an entirely different field Christine de Pisan's rôle in contemporary letters is a faint forecast of the rôle of the sixteenth century woman in literature.

To these purely literary resemblances between the Pre-Renaissance and the Renaissance proper might be added other points in common that are not primarily of a literary character. A case in

C'est là . . . ce qui a donné lieu à la tradition . . . qui constitue une erreur évidente. Parmi tous les livres de Filiastre qu'a recueillis la bibliothèque de Reims il n'y a pas un seul ms. grec."

<sup>37</sup> R. Thomassy, *Guillaume Fillastre considéré comme géographe*, Paris, 1842.

<sup>38</sup> A. Coville, *Recherches sur Jean Courtecuisse et ses œuvres oratoires*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, No. 65 (1904), pp. 469-529.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 83.



point would be the desire for reform within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church, set forth by such men as Nicolas de Clamanges and Jean Gerson in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a movement that had its parallel in the sixteenth century, and eventually led to the Reformation and the Counter-Reform. In still another field certain activities of the Pre-Renaissance foreshadow the real Renaissance. I refer to certain theoretical writings, such as those of Pierre d'Ailly, on various physical aspects of the earth, which were the *livre de chevet* of that master of experimental geography, Christopher Columbus.

It will be seen from the foregoing that traces of some of the dominant literary tendencies of the sixteenth century may be found in French literature at the end of the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth centuries.

#### VI.—THE RÔLE OF THE “NÉGOCIATEUR” IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

Gontier Col and Jehan de Monstereul were “négociateurs,” i. e., diplomatic agents, and by reason of their position came in contact with foreign life. It was while on a diplomatic mission to Avignon in 1395 and to Florence in 1396, that Col had an opportunity to come into personal contact with Italian thought. Monstereul also went to Italy in his official capacity about this time (1394-1395).<sup>1</sup> The imagination of both men was apparently fired by the new spirit that was permeating contemporary Transalpine thought. Col, in the course of his life, devoted his energies mainly to English embassies, and the fiscal matters of the kingdom; but Jehan de Monstereul went to Avignon in 1404, and to Rome in 1412. During the last-named trip he came to know the Early Renaissance Italian men of letters, such as Coluccio Salutato, Leonardo Aretino, Niccolo Niccoli.<sup>2</sup>

That Col and Monstereul were of such a cast of mind that they would have caught some spark of Humanism even if they had never come in personal contact with Italian life, seems improbable. It is Jean de Monstereul, the one of the two friends who had made a stay

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10 and 12.

in Italy and had known the Italian men of letters, who was the real Humanist, for Col is left far behind by his friend on this score, and Col's importance is rather that of the "enlightened amateur," who encourages by his interest and by his discerning praise or criticism. Both his knowledge and that of Monstereul of matters Italian was brought about thru their diplomatic careers. The rôle of diplomacy in spreading the Humanistic spirit is therefore to be noted; the more so that Col and Monstereul were not primarily literary men, but intellectuals of the day, with minds alert to new ideas and a new outlook on life.

In this connection it might not be devoid of interest to note that diplomacy was responsible for Petrarch's visit to Paris in 1361, and although he had established friendly relations with Frenchmen during his stay at Vaucluse—notably with Berçuire<sup>3</sup>—it was after this embassy that Jean le Bon tried to induce the Italian poet to come to his court,<sup>4</sup> and his stay apparently made an undeniable impression on the French court.<sup>5</sup> Nor was this true only of France at this time. The same phenomenon may be observed in contemporary England where there were also men whose position as diplomats opened to them mental vistas that they might not have known otherwise. Chaucer is perhaps the most eminent example.

Altogether it seems plausible that these "négociateurs" played a rôle in bringing Humanism into France by reason of the life they led. Doors that would have been closed to the average foreign traveler were opened to them thru their official position, and men with their tastes and eagerness for antiquity were keenly alive to all the advantages that their profession threw in their way.

## VII.—CONCLUSION

In the light of what has gone before concerning Col and the Pre-Renaissance group in France at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, the following salient points are conspicuous. Col, like some of the contemporary Italian Humanists and in contrast with the second generation of Humanists, was not first and foremost a professional man of letters. He was

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson, J. H., *Petrarch*, New York and London, 1914, pp. 125-126.

<sup>5</sup> G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1916, p. 156.

an example of the "négociateur-amateur" and belonged by birth to the *bourgeoisie*, which had come to the fore in the fourteenth century. He was also typical of the laïcisation of learning—a field of human endeavor that had for centuries been confined to the clerical caste. A testimony to the breaking down of bars in this direction is seen in the semi-literary quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose*, in which a layman (Col) and a woman (Christine de Pisan) take part. Maître Gontier's attitude in this quarrel is dictated both by his bourgeois point of view, which was not particularly tolerant of the knightly attitude on the woman question, and by his defense of the individualistic moral code, which was peculiarly characteristic of the Renaissance.

As for the artistic side of the Pre-Renaissance, Col shows an interest in fine manuscripts, tapestries, relics of the Saints set in jewels—a taste which in all its phases was Mediaeval as well as Renaissance; and there is no documentary evidence to show that he had leanings towards the artistic tastes of the early Italian Humanists.

Col's chief interest to us lies in that his was what may be called a pioneer mind: he was deeply absorbed in the contemporary quickening of intellectual pursuits, whether in the classics or the "sciences." In his case, the interest was in the classics, and his genuine love of books is pretty well established by contemporary evidence. The other point of contact for us lies in his relations with Monstereul, and the rôle he played in the latter's development along the lines of Humanism. In this case, Col taught better than he knew, for Monstereul, who called him his "praeceptor," surpassed him in his receptivity of the new spirit.

The connection between Col, Monstereul and Clamanges, and the rôle that they played as a group, in the early development of Humanism in France, must also be noted as well as the importance played by the diplomatic position of Col and Monstereul, in throwing them in contact with the Humanists. It seems fairly clear that the rôle of diplomatic missions must not be disregarded when tracing the introduction of Humanism into France.

As has been observed, Col has left little literary baggage, whether as regards descriptions of his missions or personal letters.

Yet enough can be gleaned from them and from contemporary documents to get a fair idea of the sturdy figure of the bourgeois of Sens, diplomatic agent and "carrier" of Humanism, who by his class, his affiliations, and his intellectual sympathies, foreshadows some of the dominant characteristics of the following literary age.



## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

Le compte de Hémon Ragnier argentier de la Royne pour un an commençant le premier jour de fevrier 1400 et finissant au dernier jour de janvier 1401 tout inclus.

Archives Nationales, KK 42, fol. 35 v<sup>o</sup>.

A Jehan Tarenne changeur et bourgoys de Paris Pour cent mars de vaisselle d'argent doré prinse et achetée de luy par l'ordonnance de la Royne et qu'elle a donné et fait présenter de par elle C'est assavoir a la fille de Monsieur le Vidame de Laonnois grant maistre d'ostel du Roy le jour de ses nopces lx<sup>m</sup> de ladite vaisselle. A la fille Maistre Gontier Col pareillement et pour semblable cause xx<sup>m</sup> et a Jehan de la Barre receveur en Languedoc semblablement xx<sup>m</sup> lesquelles parties font ensemble lesditz C<sup>m</sup> de vaisselle que valent au pris de VIII l. parisis chacun marc VIII<sup>e</sup> l. p. que paieiz lui ont este par vertu des lettres de mandement de ladite dame données le XXVI<sup>e</sup> jour de fevrier l'an mil CCCC et ung et par quittance faicte le XV<sup>e</sup> jour d'avril apres Pasques mil CCCC et deux tout cy rendu a court.

## APPENDIX B

D'Hozier, Pièces originales, vol. 807, Pièce 4. (Bib. nat.)

Saichent tuit que ie Gontier Col congnoiz avoir eu et receu de Jehan le franc tresorier du Roy nostresire es terres que souloit tenir en Normandie le Roy de Navarre la somme de Cent quinze livres tor. que mons. Charles de Navarre me devoit pour la vente bail et delivrance de six hanaps d'argent dorez et esmailles en fons pesans douze mars cinq onces quinze esterlins les quelx mon dit seignour a euz de moi. de laquelle somme des CXV l. t. dessus diz, je me tiens a bien païé et en quite le dit mons. Charles le dit tresorier et tous autres. Donne soubz mon seel et sing manuel le XXIII<sup>e</sup> jour de fevrier l'an mil CCCIII<sup>xx</sup>

Gontier (Sceau pendant en  
cire rouge).

## APPENDIX C

D'Hozier, Pièces originales, vol. 807, Pièce 5. (Bib. nat.)

Saichent tuit que ie Gontier Col. clerc notaire et secretaire du Roy nostresire. Confesse avoir eu et receu de Nicolas de la Heze. Receveur et voyer de Mante et de Meullent. la somme de Cent dix neuf livres dix s. par. a moy deue. pour mes gaiges de six s. par. par iour que je prengs du dit seigneur a cause de mon office de notaire et pour mes manteaulx. come il appert par deux cedules de la Chambre aux deniers d'ycellui seigneur. donnees l'une le XXI<sup>e</sup> de janvier. MCCCIIII<sup>xx</sup> et VIII et l'autre le XV<sup>e</sup> de Janvier MCCCIIII<sup>xx</sup> et X verifiees en la chambre des comptes du Roy nostresire a Paris le XIII<sup>e</sup> jour de novembre MCCCIIII<sup>xx</sup> et XIII. De laquelle somme de cent dix neuf livres dix s. par. a moy payee par le dit Receveur et voyer par vertu du mand (ement) dudit seigneur donreceut (sic) a messieurs les tresoriers de france donne le XXIX<sup>e</sup> iour doct (obre) l'an MCCCIIII<sup>xx</sup> et XIII. expedie par yceulx tresoriers et ataiche aux diz mand (emens) et cedules le XVIII<sup>e</sup> de mars. l'an MCCCIIII<sup>xx</sup> et treze Je me tieng pour bien content et paye et en quitte le Roy nostre dit seigneur. ledit Receveur et voyer et touz autres. tesmoing mon seel et signe manuel mis a ces presentes. Escriptes de ma main le XXII<sup>e</sup> jour du dit moys de mars. mil CCCIIII<sup>xx</sup> et treze. dessus dit.

Gontier (Sceau pendant  
en cire rouge.)

## APPENDIX D

The two following Latin letters are those mentioned on page 63 of the text. The first is described as follows in the *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France* [vol. XXXVII (1905). Tours, par M. Collon, p. 703, No. 978, Recueil II]. "Correspondance d'Ambroise de Miliis avec Gontier (Probablement Gonthier Col, ambassadeur de Charles VI). . . . 3<sup>o</sup> Fol. 60. Lettre de Gonthier à Ambroise de Miliis pour le blâmer de sa conduite à l'égard de Jean, prévôt de Lille."

Immediately following it will be found the letter published in the *Opera Omnia* of Nicolas de Clamanges (pp. 33-36), written *sub nomine Guntheri Colli*, that bears such a striking textual resemblance to the foregoing.

Iustum erat Ambrosi, si saperes aut boni in te viri imaginem ostendere velles te tuis benefactoribus grati animi vicem rependere nec pro impensis tibi beneficiis tot eos maledictis et convitiis inces-

sere aut si morem nature gerens ingratus esse decreveras alium profecto querere debebas (ad quem?) tua criminatoria scripta tot in Iohannem prepositum Insulani iniurias euomentia dirigeres. | Nec me tue ingratitudinis astipulatorem talia michi de meo amico et singulari amico scribens significasse videreris. Satis tibi esse oportuerat ab uno te iura fidei | legem benevolentie federe amicicie violari absque hoc quod alios ab isto infamj vitio abhorrentes tecum in suspicionem et consortium perfidie consimilis adscisceres. Sed quamquam me eo ipso a te lesum putem quod me potissime delegisti ad quem tanta de amicissimo probra conscriberes que etsi digna tuo ore duxisti et meis tamen auribus et suis moribus indignissima sunt omictam tamen iam de mea lesione dicere et ad causam amici veniam et quam si verus et integer eius amicus sum ut certe sum non secus atque meam putare debeo. Non inficiaberis ut opinor Iohannem de te optime meritum quod si perges inficiarij omnes pene qui te noverunt. Ymo vero sol ipse qui tantam ipsius in te benevolentiam vidit testimonium adversus te dicturi sunt nemo est enim pene qui tot eius in te officia | tot tui commendaciones | tot pro te intercessionones nesciat. Scio ego scis tu ipse sciunt plures sua et mea precipue instantia factum esse | ut tu pauper inops alienigena miserabilis potius quam invidiosus illius incliti principis famulatumque nunc tantopere extolleris adipiscereris cum illum et me quotidie pro aliquo servicio impetrando tot supplicibus precibus fatigares tot importunitatibus obtunderes. Taceo domum Iohannis non aliter quam sibimet ipsi tibi semper patuisse et tuarum miseriarum ac inopiarum profugium fuisse nec dico quam familiariter quam liberaliter quam festive quam lepide quam amice domus illa exceperit et tractarit. Omicto et ea narrare que de eius in te amore et honore singulariter ipse<sup>1</sup> | vel maxime comperta habeo cum mecum sepius et familiarius de hiis rebus quam cum alio quopiam loqueretur quibus te ad astra laudibus efferebat quam creber et assiduus de te illi sermo erat quantum tuam humilitatem tuam modestiam tuos gestus tuos mores nundum apprime cognitos commendabat. Quantum tuam eloquenciam nundum caninam effectam venerabatur quomodo te in literarie et stili accuratione supra quam res et veritas erant exaltabat. ut vel sic tuae inopie per aliquam promotionem

<sup>1</sup> [Fol. 6o verso.]

subveniret. Quomodo illo suo visceroso et flagranti affectu suo cordiali et sincero more omnia tua ampliabat | et <ut'> tue necessitati simul que utilitati consuleret in maius ferebat. | Pro hiis tot in te erogatis beneficiis et plerisque aliis que enarrare longum esset num quid a te nunc une optimo contempni meretur | et tot impure lingue contumelias audire. que eo sibi graviora sunt quod te non auctorem talium sed si ab alio in eum dicerentur futurum certe vindicem et fidum in repellendo adiutorem sperabat | nec certe ego ipse aliter sperassem. Sed tu votis suis et spe mentem bonam sepe falli docuisti. Itaque non tibi uni hac tua petulancia offuisti sed | multis aliis exteris advenisque et tuis presertim conregionalibus ac popularibus quorum verbis aut votis nos gallici tuo exemplo edocti non tam facilem de postero fidem habebimus veriti scilicet ne quod in te experti sumus anguis aliquis cauda percuciens in herba lateat. Quod si prior ipse te lesisset | si ulla in te signa non dico digni animi sed minus solito amici aut benivoli perdidisset aliquo tamen saltem pallio tua convicia tegerentur Nunc vero quod nichil lesus nichil abeo iniurie passus | tam virulenta et procaci oratione in eum Repente invasisti omnia pene flagiciorum genera que tuus fecundus animus excogitare potuit in eius contumeliam coacervando tuum tand<em> nobis ingenium diucius celatum aperiisti tuam frontem diu obductam exporrexisti tui animi latebras et archana longa simulacione contexta in lucem eduxisti. Unde magne merito gratie tibi ab eo habende sunt quod tandem apud se fingere desisti et qualis animo esses talis lingua et vultu esse cepisti. Nam quam frivola illa sit occasio qua nescio quando verba<sup>2</sup> | quedam acerbiora in te eum protulisse Refers verba ipsa satis demonstrant nuper inquis me meum negotium serio agentem interpellans | quia non ilico missis omnibus nugis suis responsa ferebam in verba iniuriosa prosiluit | meque michi ipsi natum cum improprio obiecit. O acerbam contumeliam | o nefarium verbum capitalique merito supplicio plectendum. Redi queso paulisper ad te. O Ambrosi et discussa animi tui caligine tecum tandem cogita utrum tanta in amicum tuum maledicta pro hac unica voce libere et confidenter ut amicorum verba decet emissa congerere debuisti | Nonne et suis ex meritis et jure amicitie tantum sibi apud te licere

<sup>2</sup> [Fol. 61 recto.]



poterat | ut unum illud verbum sine tanta tua stomachacione enunciar-  
 ciaret. Si hac lege amicos habere vis | ut apud te non loquantur.  
 nisi prefinito et que tibi placeant Vide | ne amicis orbatus loco  
 eorum assentatores amplectaris qui te in tuis erroribus palando  
 foueant | et iuxta comici verbum ex stulto insanum faciant. Quis  
 nescit in amicitiiis verissimis sepe verborum votorum animorum dis-  
 sentiones sepe reprehensiones objurgaciones interuenire quibus non  
 solum non tollitur amicitia sed potius proficitur atque integratur.  
 Quod ipsum eciam comicum vite humane sagacissimum expressorem  
 non latuit | amantium inquit ire amoris integratio est. | A quo enim  
 objurgacionem, aut castigacionem equo animo accipies | si ab amico  
 nolis. Quomodo autem ab amico castigacionem feres si unam ab eo  
 sententiam paulo asperiores et tuo placito aduersantem non  
 tuleris. Nihil ergo est quod iuste causeris occasionem tibi ab eo  
 tam inimice insectacionis aut mendose vituperacionis obiectam | sed  
 tuus aut invidia aduersus eum aut egritudine alia tabescens animus  
 suique morbi iam prevalentis ulterius impaciens | hanc tandem oc-  
 casionem fluxam leuem invalidum et ut pro Re digna verba dicam  
 perversam et iniustam commentus est qua id quod diu conceperat  
 et intra se aluerat parturiret. Et tuam forte scientiam ostentare  
 voluisti qui Iohannem de ignorancia tam amara inuentione coarguis.  
 Scilicet probe docuisti te scire conuiciarij maledicere amicos calump-  
 niarij scelera et mendacia in eos | fingere quas artes sacius fuerat  
 non edidicisse<sup>3</sup> | vel si animo inheserant illic melius recondite latuis-  
 sent quam in amicorum et innocencium suggillacionem exercerent-  
 tur. Nolo autem nunc particularia opprobria-que in eum iacularis  
 attingere | quia et res prolixior esset cum de hoc longam texueris  
 inuectiuam et Responso nichil opus est cum a tuis calumpniis sua  
 satis eum defendat integritas. | Quamquam si res purgacione vel  
 responso digna esset | et te quoque non indignum indicaret cum quo  
 sibi contentio suscipi deberet facile satis sibi erat tua iacula in caput  
 tuum Retorquere et ut apud Persium est | mordaci Radere vero  
 auriculas | Nec desunt alij eiusdem amici quibus si talia de eo  
 scripsisses tibi | a tergo longe aliter quam presens portat pagina  
 Rescripsissent. Vale et si tue lingue ac stilo frenos apponere nescis  
 | Vide tamen si mihi credis deinceps considerantius in quam partem  
 tue habene laxabuntur.

<sup>3</sup> [Fol. 61 verso.]

Nicolai de Clemangiis, *Opera Omnia*, Lydius edition Lugduni Batavorum, clc loc XIII pp. 33–36. Epistola VII. Sub Nomine Guntheri Colli regij Secretarij, ad eundem Ambrosium scripta; suae<sup>1</sup> ingratitude in Iohannem Praepositum Insulensem increpatoria.\*

Iustum<sup>2</sup> erat Ambrosi, si saperes, aut boni in te viri imaginem velles ostendere, te tuis benefactoribus grati animi vicem rependere nec pro impensis tibi beneficijs maledictis illos conuitijsq;<sup>3</sup> incessere. Aut si<sup>4</sup> ingratus esse decreueras, alium vtique quoerere<sup>5</sup> debebas, ad quem tua criminatoria scripta, tot in Iohannem Praepositum Insulanum iniurias euomentia dirigeres. Nec<sup>6</sup> me<sup>7</sup> tali abhorrentem vitio, tuae ingratitude adstipulatorem,<sup>8</sup> talia mihi de meo amico<sup>9</sup> singulari amico scribingens insinuasse videreris.<sup>10</sup> Satis tibi esse oportuerat ab uno te, iura fidei, legem beneuolentie,<sup>11</sup> foedus<sup>12</sup> amicitiae<sup>13</sup> violari. Absque hoc quod alios immeritos a tantisque peruersitatibus alienos tecum in susceptionem<sup>14</sup> vel consortium<sup>15</sup> perfidiae<sup>16</sup> consimilis adscisceres. Sed quamquam me eo ipso a te non medicriter lesum putem, quod me potissimum delegisti, ad quem talia de amicissimo conscriberes: quae<sup>17</sup> et si digna tuo ore aut thalamo<sup>18</sup> duxisti, et meis tamen erant auribus, & suis moribus indignissima. Omittam tamen de mea laesione<sup>19</sup> dicere, &<sup>20</sup> ad causam mei amici veniam: quam si verus atque integer illius amicus sum,<sup>21</sup> non secus atq; meam aestimare<sup>22</sup> debeo. Imo<sup>23</sup> eo magis quam propriam curare, quo honestius de amicorum iniuria, quam de nostra laboramus. Non inficiaberis, vt opinor, Ioannem optime<sup>24</sup> de te meritum,

\* Foot-notes show variant readings found in ms. lat. 3127, fol. 13 recto—fol. 14 recto, Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>1</sup> sue.

<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> conviciisque lacessere.

<sup>4</sup> si morem nature gerens.

<sup>5</sup> querere.

<sup>6</sup> Ne.

<sup>7</sup> a me.

<sup>8</sup> stipulatorem.

<sup>9</sup> et de meo: et singulari amico.

<sup>10</sup> videris.

<sup>11</sup> beni-.

<sup>12</sup> fedus.

<sup>13</sup> amicicie.

<sup>14</sup> suspicionem.

<sup>15</sup> consortium.

<sup>16</sup> perfidie.

<sup>17</sup> que.

<sup>18</sup> calamo.

<sup>19</sup> les-.

<sup>20</sup> ad causamque.

<sup>21</sup> sive non.

<sup>22</sup> extimare.

<sup>23</sup> Ymo.

<sup>24</sup> Johannem de te optime.

quod si ausu impudentissimo perges inficiari, non modo pene omnes, qui ambos nouerunt, testimoniũ aduersus te dicent, sed sol ipse: suae<sup>25</sup> per dies beneuolentiae<sup>26</sup> testis assistet: Luna autem atque sydera per noctes Quis enim nescit, domum Iohannis, non aliter atq.<sup>27</sup> sibimet ipsi die noctuq; tibi patuisse, tuarumque miseriarum atque inopiarum perfugium fuisse: quam<sup>28</sup> familiariter, quam liberaliter, quamque<sup>29</sup> festiue, iocunde, lepide domus illa te exceperit & tractarit?<sup>30</sup> Tantumne de laetheo<sup>31</sup> flumine bibisti ut obliuisci potueris sua meaque instantia<sup>32</sup> atque opera factum esse ut illius clarissimi principis famulatum, quo tantopere modo insolescis<sup>33</sup> adipisceris? Cum tu pauper, inops alienigena, miserabilis potius<sup>34</sup> quam inuidiosus, me atque illum, supplici prece, assidua postulatione,<sup>35</sup> incredibilique importunitate,<sup>36</sup> pro aliquo tibi impetrando seruitio quotidie<sup>37</sup> obtunderes? Tuaene<sup>38</sup> memoriae<sup>39</sup> tam cito exciderunt tot illius in te officia, tot tui laudes, & commendationes:<sup>40</sup> tot pro te apud quoscumque poterat intercessiones. Omitto illa commemorare, quae<sup>41</sup> de illius in te amore, studio, affectu, honore, singulariter prae multis alijs comperta habeo. Cum saepius<sup>42</sup> ac familiarius quam cum quouis alio de ijs<sup>43</sup> rebus mecum loqueretur, quantum tuam humilitatem, tuam modestiam, tuos gestus, tuos mores, nundum<sup>44</sup> apprime cognitos commendebat. Quinimo<sup>45</sup> creber imo<sup>46</sup> assiduus, de te illi sermo erat, quibus te ad coelum laudibus efferebat, quantum<sup>47</sup> [fol 13 verso] tuam eloquentiam (nundum<sup>48</sup> caninam) extolebat:<sup>49</sup> quomodo te in litteris, & styli<sup>50</sup> cultu, supra quam res aut veritas erat exaltabat: quomodo illo suo visceroso ingentique affectu omnia tua in maius augebat. quo vel sic tuae<sup>51</sup>

<sup>25</sup> sue.<sup>26</sup> benivolente.<sup>27</sup> ac.<sup>28</sup> *desunt*.<sup>29</sup> *deest*.<sup>30</sup> tractauerit.<sup>31</sup> letheo.<sup>32</sup> -cia.<sup>33</sup> nunc intumescis.<sup>34</sup> potius.<sup>35</sup> -cione.<sup>36</sup> opportunitate.<sup>37</sup> *deest*.<sup>38</sup> Tue.<sup>39</sup> -rie.<sup>40</sup> -ciones.<sup>41</sup> que.<sup>42</sup> se.<sup>43</sup> his.<sup>44</sup> non-.<sup>45</sup> Quam.<sup>46</sup> ymo.<sup>47</sup> Note deleted.<sup>48</sup> non-.<sup>49</sup> extollebat.<sup>50</sup> stili.<sup>51</sup> tue.

indigentiae<sup>52</sup> per aliquam posset promotionem<sup>53</sup> esse consultum. Non tua tam lubrica tunc erat memoria, cum<sup>54</sup> tanta promittebas beneficia, nullo umquam tēpore a tua mente labi: cū<sup>55</sup> obsequium, gratitudinē mutuā vicē relaturum<sup>56</sup> spondebas. Pro ijsne<sup>57</sup> quoeso tantis in te cumulatīs meritis & alijs plaenisque<sup>58</sup> quae longum nimis esset enumerare, iure a te contemni<sup>59</sup> meruerat, totq̃ impurissimae<sup>60</sup> linguae<sup>61</sup> contumelias audire? Quae<sup>62</sup> idcirco ipsi<sup>63</sup> grauiora sunt, quod talium te nequaquā auctorem, sed si ab altero in eum iacerentur<sup>64</sup> fidum in repellendo adiutorem futurum sperabat: nec ipse tente<sup>65</sup> aliter sperassem. Sed tu verum esse docuisti, quod Poeta Elegiacus<sup>66</sup> ait:

Fallitur augurio meus bona saepe<sup>67</sup> suo.<sup>68</sup> Tu itaque hac tua petulantia,<sup>69</sup> non tibi uni obfuiſti,<sup>70</sup> verum multis<sup>71</sup> exteris, aduenisque,<sup>72</sup> conregionalibus ac popularibus, quorum verbis aut promissionibus,<sup>73</sup> veriti scilicet ne quod in te sumus experti, anguis aliquis cauda percutiens in herba latitet. Quod si prior ipse te laessisset,<sup>74</sup> si vlla in te signa, non dico alienati animi, sed minus solito amici, aut beneuoli,<sup>75</sup> prodidisset: aliquo<sup>76</sup> saltem pallio tua insectatio tegeretur. Nunc vero, quod nihil laesus,<sup>77</sup> nihil ab eo iniuriae<sup>78</sup> passus, tam virulenta procaciq̃ oratione in illum repente inuasisti, omnia fere criminū genera, quae<sup>79</sup> tuus faecundus<sup>80</sup> animus excogitare preualuit, in illum iaciens, tuum tandem nobis ingenium diutius<sup>81</sup> celatum atque obtectum, palam ex latebroso inuoloto<sup>82</sup> euoluisti, tuam frontam longius obductam exporrexisti, tui praeg-

<sup>52</sup> -cie.

<sup>53</sup> -cionem.

<sup>54</sup> quando.

<sup>55</sup> quando.

<sup>56</sup> relaturum te.

<sup>57</sup> his.

<sup>58</sup> plerisque que.

<sup>59</sup> contempni.

<sup>60</sup> -sime.

<sup>61</sup> -gue.

<sup>62</sup> Que.

<sup>63</sup> sibi.

<sup>64</sup> dicerentur.

<sup>65</sup> de te; certe.

<sup>66</sup> eligiacus.

<sup>67</sup> sepe.

<sup>68</sup> cf. Ovid. Hes. 16. 234.

<sup>69</sup> -lancia.

<sup>70</sup> offuisti.

<sup>71</sup> multis aliis.

<sup>72</sup> aduenisque tuis tamen precipue.

<sup>73</sup> promissionibus nos Galli tuo exemplo edocti, non tam facilem de postero fidem habebimus.

<sup>74</sup> les-.

<sup>75</sup> beni-.

<sup>76</sup> aliquo tamen.

<sup>77</sup> lesus.

<sup>78</sup> -rie.

<sup>79</sup> que.

<sup>80</sup> fec-.

<sup>81</sup> -cius.

<sup>82</sup> inuolocu, involucre.



nantis cordis arcana,<sup>83</sup> longa simulatione<sup>84</sup> contexta, aliquando in lucem effudisti: hac<sup>85</sup> super re, magnae<sup>86</sup> ab illo tibi merito habendae<sup>87</sup> gratiae sunt: quod tandem apud ipsum<sup>88</sup> fingere desijsti, Et qualis animo eras, talis lingua, vultu, calamo esse caepisti:<sup>89</sup> quod fraudem, dolum, fallaciam,<sup>90</sup> duplicitatem parras<sup>91</sup> (vt ait Vergilius)<sup>92</sup> Ligurum artes, apud ipsum<sup>93</sup> tãdem aperuisti, apud alios fortassis etiã nũc obiectas, (quo nuda & aperta cerneret<sup>94</sup> veritate, qualẽ erat amicum sortitus.) Nam quam friuola illa sit occasio, qua nescio cum<sup>95</sup> verba quaedam<sup>96</sup> acerbiora in te illum protulisse causaris, verba ipsa apertius<sup>97</sup> ostendunt: Nuper inquis me meum negotium<sup>98</sup> serio agentem<sup>99</sup> interpellans, quia non ilico<sup>100</sup> missis omnibus, nugis ipsius<sup>101</sup> responsa ferebam, in verba iniuriosa prosiluit,<sup>102</sup> meq<sup>103</sup> iniuriarũ<sup>104</sup> cum iurgio obiecit. O acerbam contumeliam, o nefarium improprium capitalique merito supplicio plectẽdum. Redi quaeso<sup>105</sup> paulisper ad te o Ambrosi, discussaque animi tui caligine,<sup>106</sup> tecum<sup>107</sup> tandem cogita, utrum ne tanta in amicum maledicta pro hac vna voce libere ac fiducialiter emissa, sicut inter amicos licet congerere atque euomere debueris. Nonne<sup>108</sup> & iure amicitiae<sup>109</sup> & suis tantis in te meritis, tum ista apud te dicere sibi licere debebat, tum, te illa patienter<sup>110</sup> audire decebat. Si hac lege habere amicos vis, vt apud te non loquantur, nisi praefinito<sup>111</sup> & que<sup>112</sup> tibi placeant. Vide ne amicis orbatus loco eorum assentatores amplectaris, qui te palando in errore foueant. Tuxtaque Comici sententiam,<sup>113</sup> ex stulto insanum faciant.<sup>114</sup> Quis ignorat in

<sup>83</sup> archana.

<sup>84</sup> simulacione (simula?).

<sup>85</sup> Qua.

<sup>86</sup> magne.

<sup>87</sup> habende sunt grẽ.

<sup>88</sup> se.

<sup>89</sup> cep-.

<sup>90</sup> fallaciam: dolum.

<sup>91</sup> patrias.

<sup>92</sup> Vir. Aen. XI. 716.

<sup>93</sup> se.

<sup>94</sup> cerneres.

<sup>95</sup> quando.

<sup>96</sup> quedam.

<sup>97</sup> apercius.

<sup>98</sup> regocium.

<sup>99</sup> Note deleted.

<sup>100</sup> illico.

<sup>101</sup> suis.

<sup>102</sup> prosiliit meque uni natum cum uirgilio obiecit (sic).

<sup>103</sup> Note deleted.

<sup>104</sup> iniurijs.

<sup>105</sup> queso.

<sup>106</sup> calligine.

<sup>107</sup> tandem tecum.

<sup>108</sup> Note deleted.

<sup>109</sup> amicicie.

<sup>110</sup> patienter.

<sup>111</sup> pref-.

<sup>112</sup> que.

<sup>113</sup> Terence. Eunuchus. 2. 2. 23.

<sup>114</sup> Note deleted.

veris amicitijs<sup>115</sup> maximan patere libertatem loquendi, arguendi, repraehendendi, objurgandi: magnas quoque soepe<sup>116</sup> interuenire<sup>117</sup> dissensiones,<sup>118</sup> quibus non tollitur amicitia,<sup>119</sup> sed magis perficitur arque integratur. Quod etiam ipsum<sup>120</sup> Comicum, vitae humanae<sup>121</sup> sagicissimum expressorem, minime latuit, cum dixit:<sup>122</sup> Amantium irae,<sup>123</sup> amoris redintegratio<sup>124</sup> est. A quo obiurgationē vel castigationē<sup>125</sup> (aequo animo accipies si ab amico nolis? Quemadmodum<sup>127</sup> autem ab amico castigationem)<sup>126</sup> feres si vnum verbum paulo asperius, tuoque placito aduersum, non tuleris: nihil ergo est quod iuste obtendas accusationem<sup>128</sup> tibi ab es tam inimicoe<sup>129</sup> accusationis, tamque<sup>130</sup> crimosae<sup>131</sup> [fol. 14 recto] vituperationis<sup>132</sup> obiectam: Sed tuus aut inuidia aduersus eum, aut aegritudine<sup>133</sup> alia<sup>134</sup> turbatus animus, & ipsa sua turbatione<sup>135</sup> non satis rationi obsequens, nec frenis se moderationis cohibere praeualens, quod iamdudum in se conceperat, atque intra se clausum aluerat, tandem more ulterioris impatiens parturire voluit, forasque effundere: utque aliqua specie<sup>136</sup> excusationis<sup>137</sup> suam culpam palliaret, hanc infirmam occasionem, cum firmiorem habere<sup>138</sup> non posset, tanta<sup>139</sup> effundendae<sup>140</sup> malignitatis excogitauit. Tuam autē scientiam<sup>141</sup> vt arbitror<sup>142</sup> ostētare voluisti qui Ioannem<sup>143</sup> de ignorantia<sup>144</sup> tāmara inuentione redarguis. Scilicet probre<sup>145</sup> docuisti, te scire conuitiari,<sup>146</sup> mordere, maledicere, calumniari, mendacia in amicos<sup>147</sup> & crimina fingere, quae<sup>148</sup> non tam doctorum sunt hominum quam malarum ac perfidorum: quas pro-

<sup>115</sup> amicitijs.

<sup>116</sup> sepe.

<sup>117</sup> animorum.

<sup>118</sup> -ciones.

<sup>119</sup> -cicia.

<sup>120</sup> ipsum etiam.

<sup>121</sup> vite humane.

<sup>122</sup> Terence: Andria 3. 3. 23.

<sup>123</sup> ire.

<sup>124</sup> integratio.

<sup>125</sup> -cionem.

<sup>126</sup> *desunt*.

<sup>127</sup> quomodo

<sup>128</sup> obtendat occasionem.

<sup>129</sup> inimice -cionis.

<sup>130</sup> -nose.

<sup>131</sup> Note deleted.

<sup>132</sup> -cionis obiectam.

<sup>133</sup> egr-.

<sup>134</sup> al (aliter?).

<sup>135</sup> -cione.

<sup>136</sup> spe (sans abbreviation).

<sup>137</sup> -cionis.

<sup>138</sup> inuenire.

<sup>139</sup> tante.

<sup>140</sup> -dende.

<sup>141</sup> ut arbitror sententiam.

<sup>142</sup> Note deleted.

<sup>143</sup> Johannem.

<sup>144</sup> -rancia.

<sup>145</sup> probe.

<sup>146</sup> -ciari.

<sup>147</sup> animos.

<sup>148</sup> que.

fecto artes sat vis<sup>149</sup> fuerat non edidicisse, vel si animo memori-  
aeq,<sup>150</sup> tenacius haerebant,<sup>151</sup> melius illic reconditae<sup>152</sup> latuissent, quā  
in amicorum, innocentumq; suggillatione<sup>153</sup> foras erumperēt. Sed  
tibi forte animos eloquentia<sup>154</sup> tollit. Si illam cum sapientia haberes,  
doceret ipsa sapiētia non te inde<sup>155</sup> extolli oportere.<sup>156</sup> Si vero sine  
sapientia habes, docet te Tullius<sup>157</sup> talem eloquentiam ciuitatibus  
ac rebuspublicis esse perniciosam.<sup>158</sup> Quomodo autem cum isto  
folleo pectore, atque maliuolo animo sapientiam<sup>159</sup> habere potes:  
cum scriptum sit: In maleuolam<sup>160</sup> animam non intrabit<sup>161</sup> sapientia.  
Porro cum Philosophi definiant sapientiam,<sup>162</sup> rerum diuinarum  
humanarumque esse notitiam, de qua potes gloriari sapiētia ut  
aliorum ita exaggeres ignorantiam,<sup>163</sup> qui ipsam satis<sup>164</sup> Grāmaticā  
vix es assecutus? Nam de arte quidem *Rhetorica*<sup>165</sup> quid aliud  
quātum ad te attinet dicam, nisi quod facilius si sobrie saperes, tuā  
in illa arte vitia<sup>166</sup> tuosque errores, ab alijs fortassis agnitos, ipse  
forte<sup>167</sup> posses agnoscere.<sup>168</sup>

Nolo autē nunc particulatim singula<sup>169</sup> quae in Ioannē<sup>170</sup> iacu-  
laris opprobria<sup>171</sup> attingere, quoniam ea<sup>172</sup> res prolixior esset, cum  
lōgam inde texueris inuectiuam, & nihil<sup>173</sup> videtur responso<sup>174</sup> opus  
esse, cū a tuis obtrectationibus<sup>175</sup> sua satis illū defendat<sup>176</sup> inte-  
gritas.<sup>177</sup> Quamquam si res purgatione vel responso digna esset,  
& te quoque non indignum indicaret, cum quo sibi cōtentio suscipi  
deberet, facile satis ipsi<sup>178</sup> erat,<sup>179</sup> tua in caput tuū iacula retor-  
quere, tuasque (ut apud<sup>180</sup> Persium est)—mordaci rodere ferro<sup>181</sup>  
Auriculas.

<sup>149</sup> satius, sacius.

<sup>150</sup> -rieque.

<sup>151</sup> here-.

<sup>152</sup> -dite.

<sup>153</sup> suggillationi (sic).

<sup>154</sup> Note deleted.

<sup>155</sup> *deest*.

<sup>156</sup> oportere.

<sup>157</sup> tullius.

<sup>158</sup> -ciosam.

<sup>159</sup> -ciam.

<sup>160</sup> maliuolam.

<sup>161</sup> introibit.

<sup>162</sup> definiant sapienciam.

<sup>163</sup> -ciam.

<sup>164</sup> vix es grammaticam satis as-  
secutus.

<sup>165</sup> rethorica.

<sup>166</sup> vicia.

<sup>167</sup> *deest*.

<sup>168</sup> cognoscere.

<sup>169</sup> singula (sic) (singula?)

<sup>170</sup> Johannem.

<sup>171</sup> obprobria.

<sup>172</sup> et.

<sup>173</sup> nichil.

<sup>174</sup> responso videtur opus esse cum.

<sup>175</sup> -cionibus.

<sup>176</sup> deffendat.

<sup>177</sup> integritas (sic).

<sup>178</sup> *deest*.

<sup>179</sup> foret.

<sup>180</sup> Pers. I. 107.

<sup>181</sup> radere verbo.

Nec desunt alij ipsius amici, quibus si talia de illo scripsisses, aliter ac<sup>182</sup> praesens portat pagina, tibi rescripsissent. Vale, & vide ne illi versus Vergiliani<sup>183</sup> in alium moribus & patria tui similem scripti te respiciant, tibi que merito possint aptari.

Vane<sup>184</sup> ligus, frustra<sup>185</sup> nimis<sup>186</sup> elate superbis.

Nec<sup>187</sup> quicquam patrias tentasti<sup>188</sup> lubricus artes.<sup>189</sup>

<sup>182</sup> quam.

<sup>183</sup> virgiliani.

<sup>184</sup> Vane Ligur, frustra que animi elate superbis. Vide Aeneid lib. 11.

<sup>185</sup> frustra que.

<sup>186</sup> animis.

<sup>187</sup> Ne.

<sup>188</sup> temptasti.

<sup>189</sup> Aen. XI. 715, 716.



## APPENDIX E

Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. latin 13062. fol. 69. ro—fol. 75. vo.

The letter is long and tedious, made up of endless repetitions and redundancies in which Jehan de Monstereul's wrath finds vent. It is of little value to us, save for the passages cited below.

For reference to quotation from Vergil, fol. 72. verso.

Maxime nobis gallis horum nesciis quin/prorsus ea abhorrentibus ut/scopulos, debuisses nempe si quid sensus inesset, tuis dumtaxat similibus, talium quidem artificiosissimus talia/reservasse apud quos hec sententia publice locum habet, aliud in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere, dicere unum et aliud facere, et ubi tandem decipere legitime est mercari, de/cuiuscomodi mercurii doctoris tuī sentiētiis eas te dudum comprobantem reprehendi et extunc pro/tuisque nonnullis aliis obprobriis illud tibi maronianum me/recolo/ scriptonenus impinxisse. Vane/ligur, frustaque animis elate superbis, nequiquam patrias temptasti lubricus artes.<sup>1</sup>

Passing references to the Ligurian are to be found as follows:  
fol. 70. verso.

. . et denique quod sui de/simillimo liguro alio tullius pridem ait.

fol. 71. recto.

. . te rogaverim gonthere mi . . . ne huic assueto malo liguri canante virgilio acetero (?) credas vel confidas . . .

fol. 74. verso.

. . perfidiam liguris . . .

fol. 75. recto.

Meminisse necesse est, tametsi melius me tutemet scias, optime mi gonthere, et/pluries pluribus recitasti, te scilicet de isto ligure nullatenus habuisse notionem, aut pro/eo intercessisse quoquo pacto, nisi per me, nisi mea monitione, mea/prece, et inductu.

<sup>1</sup> Virgil Aenead II : 716.

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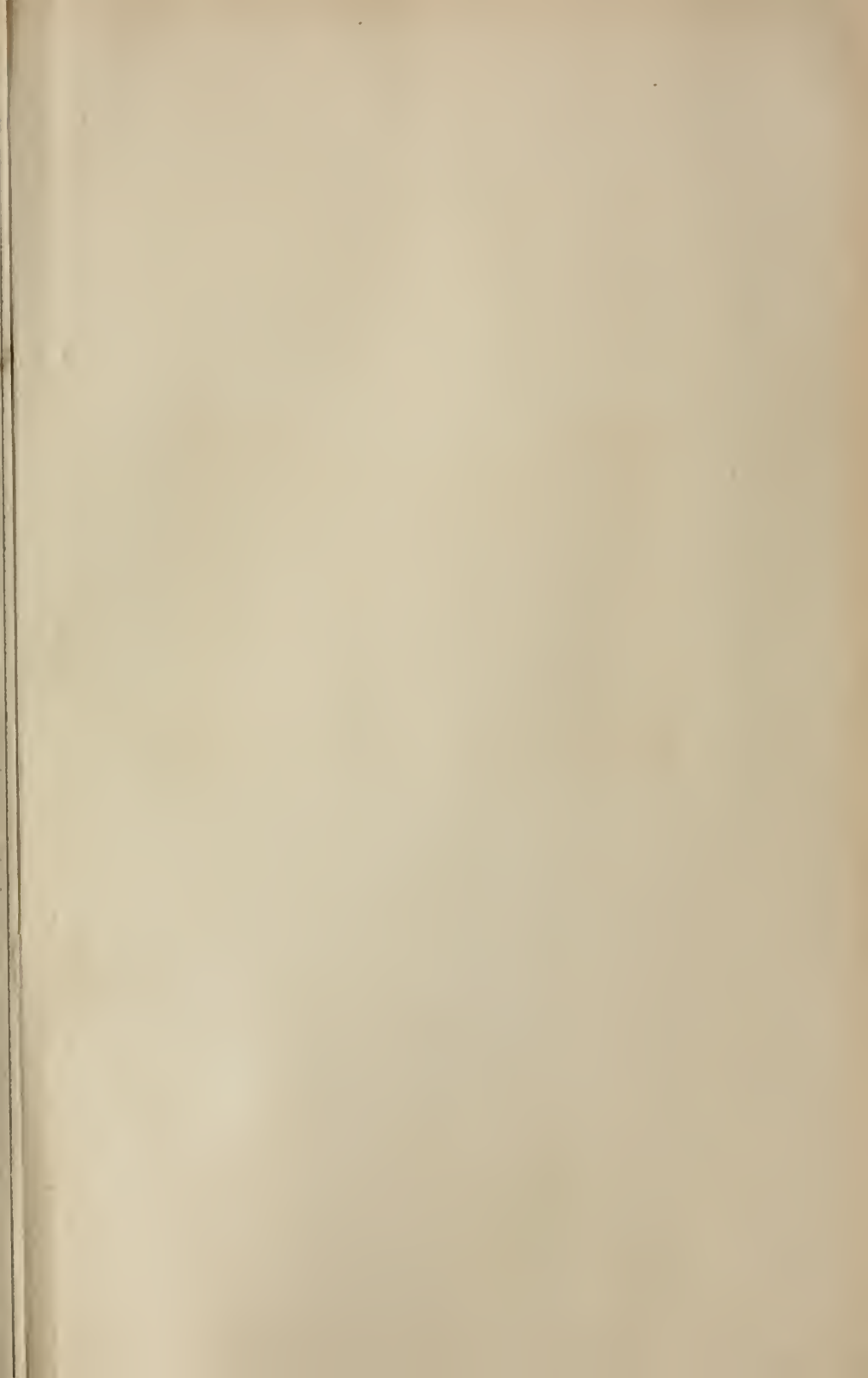
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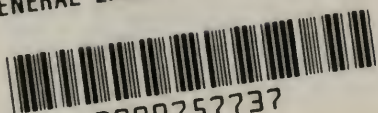
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